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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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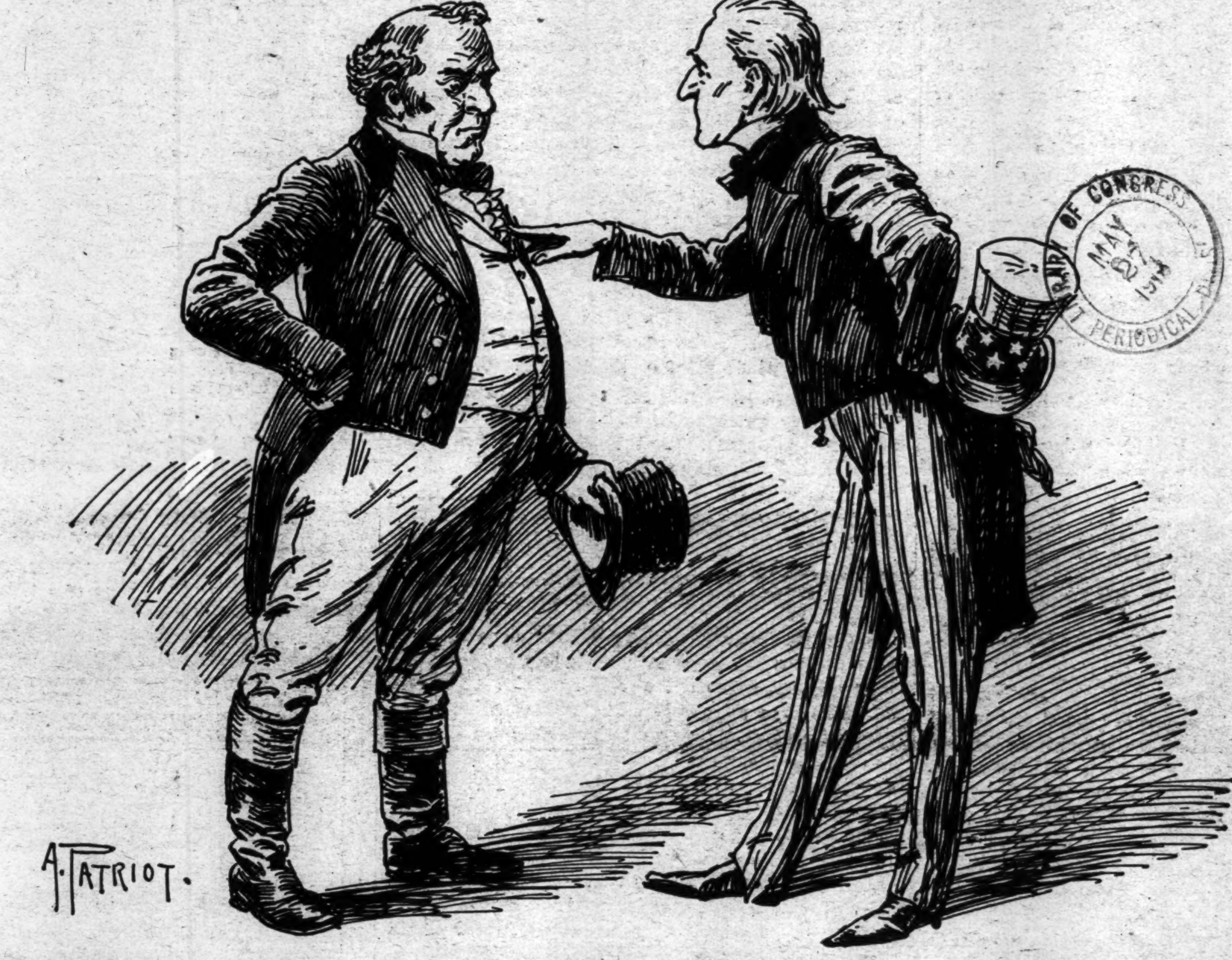
UNCLE SAM'S WARNING



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PERIODICAL

UNCLE SAM (to John Bull): "Guess you'll have to hustle if you don't want to get left behind."

(In the last few years, during the modern agitation for the vote by women in England, full Suffrage has been granted to American women in five States and one Territory; and, in the last four months, twelve of the State Legislatures have voted for the submission of the question to the electors.)

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

The battleground for votes for women has been transferred during the past week from the merits of Woman Suffrage to a defence of some of the most cherished liberties of the people. This is the inevitable outcome of the refusal of the Government to listen to the claims of justice and their decision to crush by brute force the revolt which their own obstinacy has brought about.

Three Great Human Rights

The questions about which the dispute between women and the Government rages to-day are no longer solely the right of women to the Parliamentary vote; they include such elemental human rights as the freedom of the Press, freedom of speech, and the freedom of the individual citizen, when attacked by the Government, from unjust persecution. By challenging the freedom of the Press in the case of the *Suffragette*, the Government have called out Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, Mr. Keir Hardie and the whole of the I.L.P. By challenging the right of the Women's Social and Political Union and the Women's Freedom League to hold meetings in public places the Government have called out the pacific Men's League for Woman Suffrage and the Free Speech Defence Committee. In their attempt to ride rough-shod over the rights of individuals they are being met at one point by the defiance of one of the editors of this paper whom they have decided to make a bankrupt, and at another point by the defiance of men and women whom they are seeking to rearrest under the barbarous provisions of the Cat and Mouse Act.

The Freedom of the Press

In our issue last week we commented vigorously upon the novel and dangerous doctrine put forward by Mr. Bodkin at Bow Street that English law permits the suppression of a newspaper. We stated, and quoted the *Manchester Guardian* and *Daily News* in support of our contention, that the only proceedings allowed by the law are against any particular issue or issues of a paper already published. We drew attention to the fact that Mr. McKenna himself had been fain to acknowledge in the House of Commons the truth of this version of the law. The events to which we there referred have had a dramatic sequel. On Thursday last, in spite of Mr. Bodkin's warning at Bow Street, the *Suffragette* was again published, the printers on this occasion being the National Labour Press, of Manchester. On Friday Mr. Whitely, the manager, was arrested and charged with conspiracy to procure malicious damage; brought before the Court on the following morning, he was remanded till Tuesday, May 21, bail being allowed solely on condition that he consented to refrain from having anything to do with future issues of the *Suffragette* in the meantime. Under the circumstances, he gave the undertaking required, making it clear that he gave it personally, and not on behalf of his employers.

J. R. Macdonald to Print the "Suffragette"

But the matter does not rest there. The National Labour Press is the Publishing House connected with the great Labour organisation known as the I.L.P.; and the principal men in that party have decided to fight to a finish on behalf of the freedom of the Press. The present directorate of the Press include the well-known names of T. D. Benson and Bruce Glasier, and these and the other members of the Board have determined to print the paper this week and to take the consequences. In the event of their arrest, Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald has expressed his willingness to become manager of the Press, and Mr. Keir Hardie and many others are prepared to follow.

His Reasons for Doing It

Interviewed by the *Daily Citizen*, which first published this important news, Mr. Macdonald made it perfectly clear that he was opposed to the militant methods of the W.S.P.U., and that the National Labour Press would exercise a censorship over the paper to prevent the appearance in it of matter containing an incitement to crime, but he added:—

> "I consider it is the duty of everybody who values the liberty of the Press to stop the Government in the most effective way from entertaining any insane ideas regarding publication, either of the written or spoken word, which may have been in force a hundred years ago, but which ought not now to be tolerated. Even if there were anything in English law—some old, disused statute—which might be held to give any such shadowy power to a Government, the exercise of that power should be challenged."

And accordingly it was his intention to resist to the uttermost any attempt to suppress the *Suffragette* or any other paper generally.

What the "Daily News" Thinks

The *Daily News* in a strong leading article on Wednesday last upheld Mr. Macdonald's decision, describing it as an "instance of the vigilance which is the only security for liberty." It proceeded:—

> Between holding the publishers of a paper responsible for incitements to crime in any given issue, which in the case of the *Suffragette* is a matter now sub judice and beyond the province of comment, and announcing as Mr. Bodkin did pontifically that "this organ must be put a stop to," there is the widest distinction possible. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that it marks the difference between constitutional rule and government by administrative order.

And the *Daily Citizen* concludes a leading article in the same sense with the words: "The question is vital to the future of a free Press."

The Suppression of Free Speech

The second conflict in which the Government are engaged is the attempt to suppress free speech. Nobody denies the right of the police to stop meetings which have become illegal through the advocacy of unlawful action from the platform; but what the police are at present claiming is something far more than this. They are claiming to prohibit meetings from being held on the ground either that they may become illegal or that they may become disorderly owing to the opposition of the crowd. Neither of these is sufficient excuse; and the determination of the W.S.P.U. and W.F.L. to hold meetings in spite of this prohibition is the assertion of a right that is essential to the freedom of a constitutionally governed people.

In Hyde Park Last Sunday

Last Sunday being Whit Sunday, the W.S.P.U. decided to hold no meetings in Hyde Park, but the W.F.L. held a meeting there without serious interruption. Meanwhile, the Men's League held two meetings, at one of which there was a lorry while at the other there was none. At the former the band of organised rowdies which have made themselves unpleasant before put in an appearance, and, receiving no adequate check from the police, succeeded in overturning the lorry. At the other the crowd of responsible citizens remained in orderly attention to the end, thus demonstrating clearly that it is not the normal crowd who take this offensive action. From this it is perfectly evident that the police could if they chose prevent disorder, and further, that the same tactics are capable of destroying any meeting of any cause which is viewed unfavourably by the Government of the day.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence in the Bankruptcy Court

The third attempted encroachment of the Executive concerns the treatment of prisoners who have incurred the displeasure of the Government. One form it takes is the claim to impose the costs of the prosecution upon a person found guilty by the Court. In 1908 the Government passed a law making this possible, and the first person to be dealt with in this way has been Mr. Pethick Lawrence, one of the Editors of this paper. Realising the necessity of a protest against this law, which is entirely one-sided in its operation, Mr. Lawrence has refused to produce the money. The answer of the Government has been to file a petition in bankruptcy against him, and on Wednesday last this petition was heard by the Registrar, who made an order appointing the Official Receiver to take charge of the whole of Mr. Pethick Lawrence's affairs. A special article from Mr. Lawrence, giving his reason while perfectly solvent for facing bankruptcy as a political protest, is printed on page 477 of this issue.

The Cat and Mouse Act in Operation

It is only a few weeks since the outrageous Cat and Mouse Bill was placed on the Statute Book, and already we are faced with the spectacle of the Home Secretary trying to rearrest and reimprison those whom only a few days before he has had to release at the point of death. According to the terms of his license Mr. Hugh Franklin ought to have surrendered himself to prison on Monday night. He did not do so, and is now the subject of a special warrant. The women who were released with him are also in a similar position. If they succeed in escaping, the law is put at defiance; if they are caught, the degrading torture which it involves will disgrace the administration of justice. In the meanwhile, no further attempt has been made to rearrest Mrs. Pankhurst.

The Right to Bail

Finally, we draw attention to the very serious attempts which are being made by magistrates to refuse bail on inadequate grounds or to hedge the right of bail around with wholly improper conditions. As Mr. G. R. S. Taylor points out in the important article which we print on page 477, bail is a right of the accused, not to be denied except for certain quite definite reasons. The magistrate is bound to give these reasons, and cannot sweep the demand of the prisoners aside by a curt answer, "No bail." It is true that by the operation of the unjust statute of 1908, to which we have already made reference, the magistrate is given wider discretion than heretofore, but this does not entitle him either to refuse arbitrarily or to compel a prisoner to bind himself as to his conduct in the meantime on a matter which may be the whole point of the dispute.

Women Liberals and the Situation

It is very much to be hoped that the wrath of the Women Liberals over the defeat of the Suffrage Bill will not prove to have exhausted itself in the resolution carried by them at their Council meeting last week. Expressions of "consternation" and denunciations of Liberal Anti-Suffragists as a "serious menace to democratic progress" are sound and healthy if viewed as a preliminary to action; but unless so regarded they offer not the least menace to the Government they condemn. As long as the Liberal Party can count upon the work of their women adherents in the constituencies they can afford to snap their fingers at "consternation" and votes of censure. Now that the Federation Council has met and dispersed without resolving upon any definite line of action, nothing surely remains for the self-respecting members of it to do but to secede from its ranks. A wholesale withdrawal of important women Liberals at this juncture would do more to convince Liberal M.P.'s that Woman Suffrage is urgent, and, we may add, to prove that militancy is unnecessary, than anything that could be said within the four walls of a Conference.

The Fellowship Re-union

The reunion of Votes for Women Fellows, held on Wednesday in last week, admirably justified the formation of this new Suffrage Fellowship. Not only was it attended by keen Suffragists from all societies and of all temperaments and classes, but the enthusiasm shown in a practical manner by the number of new members, new subscriptions to the paper and donations in money, brought as "birthday gifts" by those who attended the reunion, testified to what an extent the Fellowship is already gaining ground. We give elsewhere an account of the evening and of the speeches made by Miss Beatrice Harraden, Mr. Henry W. Nevinson and the Editors, and on page 474 will be found the concrete result of the evening's proceedings in a satisfactory list of members and subscriptions. The Fellowship has made a fine start, and it means to go on as it has begun!

Items of Interest

By a special cable to Votes for Women we learn that the State of Illinois, in which is the city of Chicago, has taken a decided step towards the enfranchisement of its women in passing the Suffrage amendment to the Constitution through the Upper House of the State Legislature. We welcome this evidence of progress all the more since Illinois is an Eastern State, and the chief Suffrage gains in America have hitherto been won in the Western States of the Union.

An echo of last week's Suffrage division was sounded in the columns of the *Times* by a letter from Mr. Balfour, in which he stated that had the measure before the House been the Conciliation Bill, he, and other Suffragists on the Front Opposition Bench, would have voted for it. A letter from Professor Carl Pearson, also contributed to the *Times*, gives an able answer to the Anti-Suffrage arguments contained in Mr. Asquith's speech last week. We print both these letters on page 479.

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GEORGE LLOYD

A HUMOROUS SKETCH

By G. Colmore, Author of "Suffragette Sally," &c.

There never was such a boy. He could do almost anything. He polished the boots and the silver, waited at table, played with the children, and had even been found surreptitiously nursing the baby. It showed, said Mrs. Partington, the inherent superiority of the male to the female. To be sure she had had other boys in whom the virtues of George Lloyd had not seemed to inhere, but that, according to Mrs. Partington, did not affect the argument. And how fortunate it was that he had entered her service at an important juncture; that is to say, shortly before she expected a visit from her first cousin, once removed, who was in the Cabinet. She had not seen much of the cousin since greatness had been thrust upon him. He was *so* much engaged, she told her friends. But now, in response to her sixth invitation, he had at last arranged to spend a night at her house on his way north. And just a week before the visit, when Charles Jones had been summarily dismissed for offences connected with a jam pot, George Lloyd had offered his services.

Mrs. Partington took to him at once; he had such a nice face, such clean hands, and such a neat figure, and he assured her that he never had and never would put his fingers in the jam. The only thing she didn't quite like was his name; it suggested, somehow, the idea of a Cabinet Minister upside down, which was an idea which Mrs. Partington shrank from contemplating. Even at the best it savoured somewhat of presumption.

"You were not called George because your name, being Lloyd—not after—er——"

"Oh, no, ma'am," said George Lloyd, who was very quick at the uptake, "my grandfather."

It was not uppishness, then. Mrs. Partington engaged him.

And then came the preparations for the coming of the Cabinet Minister. Such rubbing up of silver, such cleaning of windows, such airing of the best bed had never been seen in Mrs. Partington's establishment, correctly as that establishment was habitually run. Mrs. Partington herself was in a flutter of expectation, mingled with horrid fears; for were there not, in the path and in train of all members of the Government, those unspeakable Suffragettes? They followed them, she knew—the brazen creatures—everywhere, literally, my dear, everywhere, and the responsibility of entertaining eminent men nowadays was really—don't you agree?—overwhelming.

My dear agreed, and so did all the other dears to whom Mrs. Partington confided the doubts which sat upon her bosom, and so did George Lloyd, on whom the urgency of super-careful carefulness had to be impressed.

"The iron gates must be locked at dusk, George" (it was better on the whole to call him George than Lloyd) "at dusk, do you understand?"

Oh, yes, he understood. And not to be opened, he supposed, till the morning.

Certainly not. Mrs. Partington hoped she could trust him, hoped he would do his utmost to secure the safety and comfort of the Cabinet Minister. George Lloyd assured her that he would see to the Cabinet Minister—no fear.

"If any of those Suffragettes were to get in I should never get over it," said Mrs. Partington.

"They do say they squeeze through anything," observed George.

"They won't squeeze through my iron railings," answered Mrs. Partington, and George said he supposed not.

George and the parlourmaid together laid the table with the best glass and the best silver; George and the parlourmaid together put the drawing-room in an order which the term apple-pie is inadequate to express.

The arrival of the guest was a complete success; there were *no* Suffragettes about the iron gates, and Mrs. Partington breathed freely. The dinner went off beautifully. Cook was a member of the local anti-Suffrage society, of which her mistress was president, and had done her utmost; and the way George passed the vegetables and saw that the Minister did not want for bread consolidated the good opinion that Mrs. Partington had formed of him. The only disturbing thing—and very curious—that happened was, that on the drawing-room table after dinner, staring guest and hostess in the face, was a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN. The guest thought that the hostess took it, and was a little affronted; the hostess thought the guest had brought it, and was a little surprised. Then when it was discovered that neither would look at anything so vile, consternation supervened. *How* did it get there? *How?* Mrs. Partington was overwhelmed with annoyance, crossed with confusion. George Lloyd, summoned by fierce bell-ringing, poured oil on the troubled waters by suggesting that it might have been sent by mistake with the evening papers, and, beholding the relief caused by his words, departed with a gentle smile, while Mrs. Partington still asseverated her regrets at the occurrence, for she *had* hoped that dear Jumbo (it was the Minister's pet name) would have found her little home a haven of peace.

Peaceful it was through the still night hours. The iron gates were locked, the key in Mrs. Partington's keeping, and in the calm silence the Minister slept the sleep of those who cannot see beyond their noses. Locked gates, barred doors, police on guard. How, then, did it happen that on every door of every room next morning hung a poster bearing the shameless words, "Votes for Women"? The bell ringing of the evening was nothing to the bell-ringing of the morning. (In the afternoon the battery had to be recharged.) Every servant was summoned, every soul in the house questioned and re-questioned. Nobody knew anything, nobody could suggest anything, except George Lloyd, who repeated his assertion of the previous day: "They do say they can squeeze through anything." He also said he had heard a noise in the night, but thought it might be rats. The police could find no clue and could offer no advice, except that the Minister should depart by an earlier train than had been intended, in case an outrage was contemplated at the station; and by twelve o'clock Mrs. Partington was guestless, sadly depressed, and further discomposed by the appearance of George Lloyd, who announced that his grandfather was ill and desired the presence of his namesake.

He went, never to return, and never has Mrs. Partington had another boy displaying such inherent superiority to female servants. He went, taking all his possessions with him, including a pamphlet presented to him by Mrs. Partington, entitled "Why Women Do Not Want the Vote." Two things only he left behind. One was the half-crown given him by the Cabinet Minister, the other was a letter found by the housemaid at the back of a drawer; and the extraordinary thing about the letter was that, though the envelope was directed to Master George Lloyd, it began inside "My dear Annie."

The housemaid wondered and the housemaid pondered. Then she pocketed the half-crown and burned the letter.

PRIZE-WINNERS OF HISTORY

We have heard what the "British Public" thinks of the Suffragettes, and we have also heard what VOTES FOR WOMEN thinks of that type of British Public. Now the newspapers have descended a step further and given us "What school children think of the militant Suffragettes." The elders and betters of the Higher Grade School at Barefield, Fuxton, Parbyshire, called upon "the children" to discuss what the Government should do with the Suffragettes. One precious morsel of humanity uplifts the minds of his educators by informing them that the women and the few men concerned are "a gang of imbeciles," and he desires that they should be "starved to death." A ten-year-old child awards the birch, hard labour, and imprisonment for life. Quite a big boy—he is fifteen—advocates sending Suffragists to an asylum, and if that fails, he takes a leaf from Lord Robert Cecil's book, and recommends deportation to an island, where they should "be made to sign a paper to give up the cause." This is a little male who, naturally enough, hopes some day to be a suborned hireling in the House of Pretence (he calls it "an M.P."), living on the money of these women whom he suggests should be put into asylums.

This little boy, of course, got the prize. The *Daily Mail*, more humane than the bloodthirsty inmates of the Higher Grade School near Fuxton, supplies the suggestive headline: "Child Advocates of Flogging and Starving." Just so. There has not been a more repulsive spectacle given us, outside the House of Commons and outside His Majesty's Prisons and the other tools of His Majesty's Government, than this "discussion" in the School for Hooligans near Fuxton. The country pays for this "education"; the women pay for little sons to belch forth these school lessons. The disgusting treatment of women, the sisters and mothers of little children like those committed to the care of the school near Fuxton, who undergo forcible feeding in H.M.'s Prisons, who bear torments that little children may cease to bear them, has given the clue for this last indecency—the prize-fighting essay at the School of Barefield, near Fuxton.

At a place in Asia many centuries ago the rulers and scribes, or schoolmasters, invited all their pupils to decide what should be done to a Man of the town of Nazareth, who had "stirred up the people," called the scribes and the rulers hypocrites, and said that the best men in the country were denying the Spirit of Truth. The children at once agreed with their elders that He must be a wicked man because He did not keep Sunday; that He "perverted" all law and order because He said it was more necessary to cleanse the inside of the platter, and you could see to the outside afterwards; and they also thought that He certainly did not come from God but from the Devil. They were equally clear as to what was to be done with Him. One promising child said, "We have a law, and He ought to die"; another counselled the boys that you should always kill something, so why not kill this Man? Another showed that any robber or murderer was better than a Man who didn't wash His hands when He ate, though the law said He was to do so. Yet another discovered He was a blasphemer because He said you should not pay taxes—"tribute," this boy called it, Finally, several little boys together called out, "Crucify Him."

But one little maiden wrote down these words for the Judge: "Have thou nothing to do with that just Man, for I have suffered many things in a dream because of Him." What she said had no effect; they did not listen to the opinion of women in those days. The little boys got the prize, and the Man of the town of Nazareth was spat upon, flogged and crucified. But history has awarded the prize to her.

We cannot learn, it seems, from truths that are under our eyes and in our midst; is it too late to take a lesson, not in the school for the "higher" education of the young near Fuxton, but from a story just 2,000 years old?

M. A. R. T.

◆

PIONEERS, O PIONEERS!

Till with the sound of trumpet,
Far, far off the daybreak call—hark! how loud and
clear I hear it wind;
Swift! to the head of the army!—swift! spring to
your places,
Pioneers! O pioneers!

WALT WHITMAN.

THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Another Printer Arrested for Publishing the "Suffragette"—Labour Press Means to go on—Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., Challenges Arrest

The attempt of the Government to prevent the publication of the *Suffragette*, the official organ of the Women's Social and Political Union, has led to unexpected developments. Mr. Drew, manager of the firm of printers who published the issue of May 2, having given an undertaking not to do so again, as we related in our last issue, the National Labour Press printed and published the *Suffragette* of May 9, with the result that Mr. Edgar Whiteley, their manager, was arrested last Friday evening, brought up at the Manchester City Police Court on a charge of conspiracy, last Saturday, and remanded until next Tuesday, May 20. This action on the part of the authorities has caused Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., to come forward and offer, if necessary, to become manager of the National Labour Press, which will continue to print the *Suffragette* as long as it contains no matter that can be regarded as an incitement to violence. He has done this in the interests of a Free Press, a right which he considers is being infringed by the action of the Government. Mr. Keir Hardie is supporting him, and their attitude is endorsed by forcible leading articles in the *Daily News*, the *Daily Citizen*, and *Daily Herald*. Great feeling is being roused all over the country, and the National Union of Clerks passed a very strong resolution condemning the Government, at their annual conference at Leicester last Saturday.

What Mr. McKenna Said

It is interesting at this juncture to recall what Mr. McKenna said in the House of Commons on May 5. Asked by Mr. Wedgwood whether Mr. Bodkin had not suggested that anyone who printed a paper called the *Suffragette*, whatever it contained, would be liable to prosecution, the Home Secretary replied, "No, sir." Asked further whether there is any precedent for preventing a newspaper from being printed before its contents are known, and whether the statements of Mr. Bodkin made in Court on April 30 had the sanction of the Government, Mr. McKenna said:—

"What Mr. Bodkin said was that persons who published or printed a newspaper which incited to crime would be prosecuted. Mr. Bodkin said this on verbal instructions from the Director of Public Prosecutions; and the giving of a serious warning as to the consequences of criminal acts and incitements has my full sanction."

What Did Mr. Bodkin Mean?

This answer, it will be seen, does not tally with Mr. Bodkin's statement at Bow Street on April 30. Mr. Bodkin then said: "That organ [i.e., the *Suffragette*] must be put a stop to, as a continued danger to society in disseminating literature of that kind and writings of that kind. . . . Also, if there is any printer who can be found, after this warning, to print and publish the literature of these women associated with the Women's Social and Political Union, he might find himself in a very awkward position as an 'aider and abettor' of those persons in carrying out their objects."

MANCHESTER PRINTER ARRESTED.

Mr. Edgar Whiteley, manager of the National Labour Press, Manchester, was arrested last Friday evening on a warrant charging him with having printed the current issue of the *Suffragette*. He appeared subsequently before Mr. Brierley, the Stipendiary magistrate, who accepted bail, and was brought up at the Manchester City Police Court on Saturday morning last, when there were five other magistrates on the bench with the Stipendiary Magistrate.

The Charge

The warrant charged him "with conspiring on April 29 and divers others dates, with Emmeline Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, and others, unlawfully and wickedly to solicit, instigate, and incite divers women, being members of the Women's Social and Political Union, and others, unlawfully and maliciously to do and commit in and upon the real and personal property of and belonging to liege subjects of His Majesty injury and spoil to the amount of £5 and upwards."

The Prosecution

Mr. Wingate Saul (instructed by Messrs. Hockin, Beckton, and Hockin) prosecuted on behalf of the Director of Public Prosecutions, and said the charge was taken under the Malicious Damages Act, 1861. It was not his intention to open the case that day, but just to say enough to show what the charge was against the defendant, and to do that he only proposed to take sufficient evidence to justify a remand. Counsel went on to say that it was common knowledge that the members of the Women's Social and Political Union were carrying on a campaign by certain means in the hope in their minds that by these means they would bring about the object they desired. In order to do that it was, he thought, common property that certain members of this Union had lately been conspiring, and as a result of that conspiracy a great deal of damage to property and other acts of violence had been committed. In furtherance of that conspiracy other people from time to time had been incited to commit these acts in the paper which had been described as "The Official organ of the Women's Social and Political Union"—the paper known as the *Suffragette*. That paper the week before was published and printed in London, and the printer was afterwards prosecuted.

The Objects of the Union

He gave an undertaking not to print it again, and a certain course was taken. During the present week the paper was printed in Manchester by the National Labour Press, Limited, Blackfriars Street, Salford, and published by the Women's Press, London. The defendant was the secretary and manager of the National Labour Press. The objects of the Union. of which the paper was the official organ, appeared clearly from the paper itself. In an October issue of last year it was stated that the militant policy of the Union consisted of a defiance of legal enactments and also of attacks on property. The only limit they regarded was that human life should be respected. On the first page of an issue of the paper there was a message purporting to come from Mrs. Pankhurst, urging all those who read it to have sympathy with the cause and be faithful to one another and the Union. In the leading article the women were urged to use the old weapon, which had lain so long rusty, and which had obtained rights in the past, and which had secured the franchise for men. Under another heading were records of damage to churches, houses, and other places, and in each of these instances it had been said that it was the supposed work of Suffragettes. Then followed a "roll of honour," which gave the names of people who had committed offences of the kind indicated, and were then in prison. That did not by any means exhaust the incitements which were contained in the paper.

Warning After Publication

Evidence was then given of arrest by Chief Inspector Taylor, of the Manchester City Police, who said that he warned the defendant, the day before the paper was published, about the consequences of publication. Mr. Whiteley was able, however, by pointing out that the paper was published on Thursday, at 8 a.m., to prove that the warning was not given before publication.

The Defendant's Undertaking

The proceedings were remanded until the following Tuesday week (May 20), and bail was allowed on the defendant giving an undertaking that he would take no part in printing or publishing the *Suffragette* in the meantime. He added, "The paper is printed by a limited company, of which I am only a servant. I as an individual agree to give the undertaking, but I cannot bind my employers."

ACTION OF MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P.

With reference to the attempt of the authorities to suppress the *Suffragette*, the *Daily Citizen* made an important announcement on Tuesday last to the following effect:—

"On the question of principle, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party, will, if necessary, become manager of the National Labour Press, and publish the *Suffragette* and stand by the consequences. Mr. MacDonald, it should be stated, has never believed in militant tactics, and has frequently been attacked in consequence by the militant women. He is totally opposed, it need hardly be said, to a campaign of crime, or to any incitement to crime. But he is of opinion that it is not legal to suppress a newspaper in advance, irrespective of what is going to appear in it, and he believes that such suppression is highly dangerous to free speech and public policy.

"Mr. Keir Hardie, in a telegram to Mr. T. D. Benson, a director of the National Labour Press, states that he is prepared to act with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald."

Interview with Mr. T. D. Benson

In the course of an interview, Mr. T. D. Benson is reported to have said: "The fight is to be one of principle. Every edition of the *Suffragette*, like the one published in Manchester on Saturday last, will be censored by the management of the Labour Press, and any reference to incitement to outrage will be rigidly excluded. In our opinion the present action is merely an effort to terrorise the printers of the country against publishing the *Suffragette*. We believe we have the support of Mr. McKenna in our action, since this Minister has declared that a paper could not be stopped in advance. The attempt to suppress the paper altogether means a big fight if it is pursued. It won't be our fault if the paper does not appear this week."

Mr. Benson, in another interview, said further: "The directors anticipate that by the end of the week they will all be arrested. In the event of their being arrested, the National Administrative Council will be summoned on Saturday afternoon, and a new board of directors at once elected, consisting probably of our own I.L.P. members of Parliament. There are 60,000 members in the I.L.P., and we can rely upon the unanimous support of the whole party."

The First Move

According to the Labour Press Agency, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's decision to assume responsibility for printing the *Suffragette* is the first move in a well-considered plan of the Labour party to defeat the Government's campaign against this journal. The matter has been the subject of much consideration by the Labour leaders, and the best legal advice obtainable has been taken. If Ministers decide to prosecute Mr. MacDonald, he will be succeeded as manager by Mr. Keir Hardie, who in turn will be followed by other Labour leaders, until the Government is forced to capitulate.

As the *Daily Telegraph* observes, this mode of fighting is new to this country, though it is commonly employed in Germany, where it is the usual thing for a Socialist paper to have a "prison editor," who is ready to go to gaol if necessary. The same paper adds the information that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald will probably raise the whole question on a motion of adjournment on the reassembly of Parliament on May 27. The idea is to raise a test case, in order to obtain a judicial ruling on the legality of the course now being pursued by the Government.

IMPORTANT RESOLUTIONS

The Clerks' Union

An important discussion took place last Saturday at the annual conference of the National Union of Clerks at Leicester, upon the recent arrest of the printers of the *Suffragette*, in the course of which it was asked what right the Government had to prohibit the publication of any paper before it appeared. The following resolution was passed unanimously:—

"This conference congratulates the National Labour Press and the Victoria House Printing Company on their stand for the freedom of the Press, and calls upon the organised labour forces of the country to accord to them such support as may be necessary. Further, this conference condemns the action of the authorities in endeavouring by arbitrary and illegal means to prevent the publication of newspapers."

Irish Suffragists Protest

The Irish Women's Franchise League also passed a strong resolution with acclamation at their weekly meeting on Tuesday last, protesting "against the illegal and vindictive action of the Liberal Government in attempting to suppress the English militant suffrage paper, the *Suffragette*," and condemning "their arbitrary action in prohibiting free speech by proclaiming Suffragist open-air meetings."

IN THE LIBERAL PRESS

The "Daily News"

A leading article in the *Daily News* calls Mr. MacDonald's intervention an instance of "that vigilance which is the only security for liberty," and goes on as follows:—"Between holding the publishers of a paper responsible for incitements to crime in any given issue, which in the case of the *Suffragette* is a matter now sub judice and beyond the province of comment, and announcing as Mr. Bodkin did pontifically that 'this organ must be put a stop to,' there is the widest distinction possible. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that it marks the difference between constitutional rule and government by administrative order. It is a distinction which every executive is irresistibly tempted to transgress, and which it is the natural tendency of lawyers, if not closely controlled by superior authority or public opinion, to overstep. There have been many long and bitter struggles in our history for the freedom of the subject. They have taken in the past many forms. Under modern conditions they are almost all comprehended in the maintenance of the unchallengable freedom of the Press. It may well be that the executive would desire to anticipate any possible incitement to a breach of the law, and could present a plausible case for doing so. In other countries such a process is possible. To the English law it is unknown. And it must remain unknown."

IN THE LABOUR PRESS

The "Daily Citizen"

The *Daily Citizen* speaks strongly in its leading article of resisting "by every means in our power any attempt on the part of the authorities to stop the publication of a journal irrespective of what may appear in it." It proceeds thus:—

"It will be argued that the freedom of the Press is not at stake, and that no action will be taken against the *Suffragette* as such. That is precisely the point that must be tested. We understand that every possible precaution was taken in regard to the issue of last week's journal, and that every page was carefully read by a lawyer so as to avoid even the appearance of inciting to crime. Despite these precautions the manager of the National Labour Press was at once placed under arrest, and indeed the police claim to have warned him of the liability to arrest at a time when they had not seen the paper and could have known nothing of its contents. We must therefore discover whether the purpose of the police is to put down crime, or to render impossible the publication of a certain journal, whatever its contents.

"On this latter issue we find it impossible to reconcile the statements of Mr. McKenna and Mr. Bodkin, and the police appear to take their instructions from the latter rather than the former. At any rate, if this issue is to be raised by the authorities it will be fought to a finish, and it will be fought, we believe, with the entire strength of the Labour movement. If we permit this encroachment upon the Liberty of the Press, it can easily be extended in many directions, and the Labour and Socialist Press is more likely to suffer than any other. What is more, if our movement calmly accepts suppression at this moment it will deserve to suffer in the future. The question is vital to the future of a free Press."

The "Daily Herald"

The *Daily Herald* hails the step taken by Mr. Macdonald as a sign that the official Labour Party is at last going to move. "If it bestirs itself," the article continues, "it can speedily bring the Government if not to reason, at any rate out of the pit of unreason and recklessness into which McKenna has borne it. The Parliamentary Labour Party is a sufficiently considerable element of the coalition to get its way when it makes up its mind to have it. The Government cannot afford to offend or antagonise it. It has simply to say that the attack on the liberty of the Press must cease, that 'suppression in advance' must stop, and McKenna will be put in his place, and Bodkin sent down from his dictatorship. We therefore welcome the spirit of grit and fight now displayed by its chairman. It means a good deal."

The "Christian Commonwealth"

We maintain that the police have no right to forbid the holding of meetings "in favour" of Women's Suffrage. What they should do is to arrest speakers who incite to violence or in any other way break the law. Similarly, we cannot understand their arresting the printers of a newspaper, and binding them over, as they have done in the case of the *Suffragette*, without it having first been proved in a court of law that the matter printed is contrary to statute. Nor can we understand their raiding the premises of the Women's Social and Political Union, ejecting a number of people against whom no charge is preferred, carting away all the Union's papers and property, including uninscribed flags and banners; and then, after a few days, allowing the officials and employees who were not arrested to return, and by hoisting their flag, to intimate that "business has been resumed." . . . Again, Mr. Bodkin should not be allowed, or instructed, to threaten subscribers to the funds of the W.S.P.U. unless he or his superiors mean business; anything in the nature of bluffing, which is always a sign of weakness, would only further lower the prestige of an administration that has already suffered some damaging blows.

MARRIED WOMEN & INCOME TAX

Debate in the House, May 7, 1913

A discussion took place in the House of Commons, on May 7, on an amendment to the Budget resolution moved by Mr. Cassel, the effect of which would be to treat the income of a married woman as separate from that of her husband. Mr. Cassel said:

"The object of this Amendment is to remove one of the striking anomalies in our Income Tax law. It has been brought before the House on previous occasions, but there are two special reasons why I think it is appropriate to call attention to it again at the earliest stage possible. The first reason is the case of Mr. Wilks, which occurred last autumn—a case which if it be not quite the same as that of his famous namesake at an earlier time, appears to me to be more ridiculous than any connected with that time. Another reason for bringing it forward is that the House yesterday by a decisive majority negatived a proposal for giving the franchise to women. I think this will be an appropriate day on which to remedy an injustice which is strongly resented by women who are subject to the Income Tax."

Mr. Cassel then proceeded to state the present position of the law (clearly shown in an article by Miss Amy Hicks, which appeared in our issue of April 11), and showed how this was hard on the husband in making him alone liable to imprisonment if he refused to pay the tax on his wife's income, and hard on the wife in that, while she was entitled to exemption and abatements on her income, her husband alone could claim these. "The origin of this anomaly," he went on to say, "is explained by the fact that the Income Tax was imposed long before the passing of the Married Women's Property Act, and the Income Tax law has never been brought into harmony with the present conditions. At the time the Income Tax was passed the husband had really control over the wife's income. The wife's income was really part of the husband's income, and he had the management and control of it. That is not so now, but although you make the husband responsible, you do not compel the wife to make any statement as to what her income is, nor has he any right to take the tax out of her income at all."

The Speaker Intervenes

Mr. Cassel proceeded to quote the Lord Chancellor's words on October 14, 1912, in support of his contention, when the Speaker intervened with the remark that "the effect of the proposal of the hon. Gentleman is, for the first time, to treat the incomes of married women in respect of Income Tax in the same way as the incomes of unmarried women. That is to impose an Income Tax for the first time on married women having separate incomes."

Mr. Cassel: The tax would be enforced direct against them instead of being enforced through the husband.

Mr. Speaker: That would be what we call a charging Resolution. There are two objections to take to it now. First of all, we cannot do that on the Report stage, and we cannot do it at all without the consent of the Crown.

The Speaker's Ruling

Some further remarks having passed between Mr. Cassel and the Speaker, in which the former cited a precedent in an amendment moved in 1910, Mr. Masterman suggested that the question raised by Mr. Cassel might be better raised on the Revenue Bill and not on the Income Tax Resolution; and Mr. Pretyman asked if the subject matter of his amendment could not be debated as part of the general consideration of the Income Tax Resolution.

Mr. Speaker: I will deal first of all with the case which the hon. Member cited. It was in Committee on the Bill. It was not even on the Resolution, and, therefore, that is not a parallel case. It seems to me quite clear that on the Report stage the House cannot impose a charge of this kind. If it is a charge, as presumably on the face of the Amendment it appears to be, it could not be imposed by the House on the Report stage of the Resolution passed in Committee. These things, if done at all, must be done in Committee. There is no objection to the hon. Member discussing the question, but certainly he could not raise a distinct issue of imposing a charge.

Mr. Cassel: In accordance with your ruling I shall not move the Amendment or discuss it, but may I mention in case the matter arises again on the Bill, I would submit that it is a case where no recommendation from the Crown would be necessary.

Mr. Speaker: This is not, of course, the time to discuss the matter. Those questions should be discussed in Committee on the Bill, and not on the Report stage of the Resolution. The object of the Resolution is to enable the Bill to be brought in. When the Bill is before the Committee then will be the proper time to raise these objections and to move these Amendments. I protest against these matters being discussed on the Resolution, and I warn the House that they are endangering the old system of bringing in these Bills on Resolutions if they insist on discussing the Resolutions apart from the Bill.

Anti-Suffrage Sympathy

Mr. Cassel then withdrew his Amendment; but later in the debate Sir Frederick Banbury seized the opportunity, beloved of Anti-Suffragists, to sympathise with the removal of an injustice to women that he was quite sure was not going to be removed. "Why should the incomes of husband and wife be lumped together," he asked, "in these days when in a great many cases he has no control whatever over his wife's income? Why they should be lumped together, and why he should be made liable, perhaps for Super-tax in consequence, I cannot conceive. If a brother and sister live together their incomes are not lumped together. If you are not married to your wife your incomes will not be lumped together; it is a direct incentive to immorality. If you are married, your wife's income is joined to yours, and you may be brought under Super-tax. If you are not married, that is not so. I really do think in these days—I am not quite certain how the right hon. Gentleman voted last night; I think he voted for the women. I am told he ran away like my right hon. Friend here."

Mr. Masterman: The right Hon. Gentleman's first surmise was correct, and did more credit to my character. I voted for it.

Sir Frederick Banbury: He voted for it. Then I think, with his view of the rights of womanhood, surely he would not want to lump the wife's income with her husband's, and would agree that they should occupy at any rate an equal position, and that the husband should not be supposed to be in any kind of way a superior person. It is most inconsistent on the part of the right hon. Gentleman.

A PRESS COMMENT

This is a heavy impost to place on Matrimony, and one very hard to justify at a time when the sensational fall of the marriage rate and birth rate among the middle classes is almost universally regarded by competent observers as among the most serious menaces to our society. — **Daily Chronicle.**

WOMEN'S PROGRESS IN AMERICA

ANOTHER SUFFRAGE GAIN

(*Special Cable to* Votes for Women.)

The Woman Suffrage amendment to the Constitution has passed the Upper House of the Illinois State Legislature.

Alice Stone Blackwell.

(This step towards the enfranchisement of the women of Illinois is of great interest to suffragists, in view of the fact that Illinois is one of the most important of the Eastern States, and includes within its boundaries the city of Chicago. Illinois already enjoys partial Woman Suffrage.)

The victory in Illinois brings another State of the American Union within measurable distance of enfranchisement. The following nine States, and one Territory, now enjoy full Suffrage:—Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Oregon, Kansas, Arizona, and Alaska. In the following States, the Suffrage amendment has passed both Houses of the Legislature, and will be submitted to a Referendum of the electors in 1914:—Montana, Nevada, North and South Dakota. In several other States the amendment has passed one House of the State Legislature, and has yet to pass another before being submitted to a Referendum, or has passed through both Houses, and, according to the procedure in some States must pass through both again before submission to the electors. Pennsylvania is one of these latter States, and we take this opportunity of correcting a slight inaccuracy in our reading of the special cable to Votes for Women, which announced the recent victory in Pennsylvania and appeared in our issue of April 25. We took this victory to mean the final passage through the State Legislature of the Suffrage amendment, whereas in Pennsylvania, as in Iowa, New Jersey, and New York, this will have to pass another Legislature before final submission to the electors

The American Clock

The rapid progress now being made in America is all the more interesting to English suffragists since it is only during the last three years or so that the movement over there has really advanced. From 1896 to 1910 no new American State was added to the four already enfranchised. In 1910 Washington became free, and the others then followed in quick succession. We give below an editorial note from the *Woman's Journal*, showing how militancy in England has not set back the American clock.

A Fine Procession

The magnificent procession of 30,000 women, who marched through New York on May 3, and held a mass meeting afterwards in the Carnegie Hall, is another indication of the growing strength of the Suffrage movement in America. The English Press, commenting upon it, has been full of advice to English Suffragists, exhorting them to emulate the peaceful demonstration of their American sisters. They forget that when English women to the number of 40,000 marched through London in June, 1911, the only result of their peaceful demonstration was the torpedoing of the Conciliation Bill and the introduction of a Bill to give more votes to men.

MORAL VICTORY FOR ENFRANCHISED WOMEN

The women voters of California have won a great victory in securing the recall of Judge Weller and the election of Judge Crist in his place. As our readers will remember, we gave in Votes for Women some weeks ago an account of how Judge Weller reduced the bail of a man convicted of assaulting a girl, thus enabling him to escape from the State and avoid the consequences of his crime. This roused the indignation of the women, who at once set to work, by means of the vote they possess, to secure Judge Weller's deposition, which, according to the *San Francisco Daily News*, has been effected solely through "the work of the good women of San Francisco." The same paper goes on to speak of him as "the police judge who had for years held property above human souls."

The *San Francisco Examiner* pays this high tribute to the newly-enfranchised women of the city: "All indications," it says, "point to the activity of the women voters in this election, and their high regard for their privilege of citizenship. . . . The women of San Francisco, by the clarity of their judgment, are giving a valuable object-lesson to the world of the wisdom of giving their sex the suffrage, irrespective of their obvious right to it."

BREAKING ALL RECORDS

The claim is made in some anti-suffrage quarters that militancy in England has killed woman suffrage in the United States. Since the Englishwomen began to smash things, full suffrage has been granted to American women in five States and one Territory—Washington, California, Oregon, Kansas, Arizona, and Alaska. Up to that time fourteen years had passed without a single State being added to the suffrage list. Moreover, in the last four months, during which the disorders in England have grown especially acute, eleven of our State Legislatures have given majority votes of both houses for the submission of a constitutional amendment enfranchising women—a number that breaks all records for previous years. These facts, of course, do not prove that militancy in England promotes the growth of the suffrage movement in America; we do not think it does; but evidently militancy cannot prevent it.—**A. S. B., in the "Woman's Journal."**

WOMAN SU
YORK
VICTORY

Block kindly lent by "Daily Citizen." *Photo: Sport and General.*

SUFFRAGISTS FORMING UP FOR THE NEW YORK PROCESSION, ON MAY 3.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Colours: Purple, White, and Green

Motto: "Come on! Hold on! Fight on!"

The happy Reunion last Wednesday has given a fresh impulse of energy and enthusiasm, and the results are seen in the strengthening of our band of paper-sellers, the influx of new members, and the record of services of every kind given during the past week.

Miss Elsie Boulting, who has become the organiser of the street-selling campaign, wants more helpers. The interest of the public has been deeply stirred by recent events, and the last few weeks have proved that there is a great deal of curiosity and excitement about the Suffrage agitation, and a healthy desire to hear both sides of the story. We must avail ourselves of this mood to win a new body of intelligent support for the Movement. Volunteers for selling the paper in the street should communicate at once with Miss Boulting, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Those who cannot sell papers in the street are asked to concentrate their attention on winning new regular subscribers to the paper. Subscription forms can be obtained on application from Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

Fellows who order their papers from newsagents are reminded that they can induce the manager to exhibit a poster outside his shop if they can secure the sale of a dozen papers every week.

If all Fellows who have signed a membership card will write to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence for a small supply of these cards and will canvass their friends for membership, the growth of the Fellowship will be rapidly extended.

Fellows are also asked as a token of goodwill and an act of service to the paper to deal as far as possible exclusively with those firms who advertise in VOTES FOR WOMEN.

A Fellowship badge is now being prepared, and will shortly be on sale.

There is every indication that a greater struggle than we have seen for centuries will have to be made in the near future for the security of the rights and liberties of the British people. New forces are coming to the front. Let us see that in the day when all the forces are most needed the Fellowship will be numerous enough and strong enough to occupy and defend an important position in the fighting line.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To May 12, 1913.)

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions already acknowledged	276	3	7
Miss C. T. Goring	0	5	0
Mrs. Keeling	0	1	0
Mrs. Gondee	0	1	0
Per Miss Burgess on "Votes"	0	0	5
Miss E. Adams	0	2	6
Miss O. Adams	0	1	0
Miss Stratton	0	1	0
Miss C. Wroughton	1	0	0
Miss Mary Ballard	0	2	6
The Misses Rozier	0	2	0
Miss E. Bell	0	2	6
Miss W. Lumley	0	2	0
Miss J. E. Brailey	0	5	0
Lady Constance Lytton	0	10	0
Miss A. M. Crawley	0	1	0
Miss O. Walton (collected)	1	5	0
Miss A. Barwell	1	1	0
Mrs. Pascoli	0	2	0
Miss K. Corcoron	0	5	0
Miss Chatham	0	1	0
iss M. K. Key (collected)	0	10	0
Mrs. Salmon	0	5	0
Mrs. Cenry	0	1	0
Mrs. Sharpe	0	2	0
Miss I. Adams	0	2	6
Mrs. Abraham (extra on "Votes")	0	4	0
Miss M. K. Richardson	0	5	0
Miss Carruthers	0	2	6
Mrs. C. E. Allman	0	5	0
Mrs. Moore	0	1	6
Miss M. Smith and Miss G. Vowles	0	14	0
Miss C. Osborn	0	5	0
Anon	1	0	0
Mrs. Clayton	0	1	0
Anon	0	5	0
Mrs White	1	5	0
Miss Boulting	1	5	0
Williams Boulting, Esq	1	5	0
Mrs. Sadd Brown	1	5	0
The Misses Allen Brown	1	5	0
Mrs. David Little	0	5	0
Miss M. Burgess	0	5	0
Mrs. Cumming	0	5	0
Mrs. Singer	0	5	0
Miss Gearing	0	5	0
"A sympathiser" per E. Boulting	0	5	0
Miss H. Thompson	0	6	6
Miss R. Thompson	0	6	6
Miss O'Chicester	0	10	0
Julius Singer, Esq	0	10	6
Mrs. Davies	0	15	0
Miss Warter	1	0	0
Mrs. Cather	2	0	0
W. Dodgson, Esq.	3	0	0
Mrs. Saul Solomon	1	6	3
Mrs. Woods	0	2	0
Miss L. Withall	0	1	0
Miss E. F. Haarbleicher	0	2	6
The Misses Trayes	0	2	6
Miss L. M. Underwood	0	2	6
Miss F. E. Underwood	0	2	6
Mrs. Creaghan	0	2	6
Miss E. M. Clarke	0	2	6
Mrs. Gardner	0	2	6
Mrs. Langley	0	2	0
Miss E. L. Lambert	0	5	0
Miss A. Scott	0	2	0
Miss Grace Clifford	0	5	0
Miss G. Gallop	0	2	6
Mrs. Prean	0	5	0
Total	305	9	9

Services and Gifts from Fellows

The gift cards handed in at the Christening Party are most interesting, original and humorous human documents. The services given include a statement of days and hours devoted to selling papers in the streets, and tabulation of the numbers of copies sold, a list of posters given for exposition at railway bookstalls, and of newsagents induced to exhibit posters in return for a guaranteed sale-supply of papers sent abroad or presented to public libraries, waiting rooms and cab shelters; special distribution of marked copies to persons of influence or to members of various professions; and all kinds of means of increasing the prestige or circulation of the paper, as well as of raising subscriptions for the Fellowship Fund. Of all these gifts it is only possible to present in tabulated form the number of new readers gained for VOTES FOR WOMEN and of new members added to the Fellowship. This list is published below, and the subscriptions to the Fund will be duly acknowledged week by week in these columns. The Editors and Staff return warm thanks to the Fellows for their practical support and cooperation in common service to the Suffrage Movement.

NEW READERS AND FELLOWS SECURED

Name.	Readers.	Fellows.
Miss M. Hookey	1	—
Mrs. Prean	—	1
Miss Phœbe Head	10	7
Mrs. Langley	4	—
Mrs. White	7	—
William Boulting, Esq.	3	—
Miss Elsie Boulting	3	—
Miss M. Burgess	—	1
Miss H. Thompson	1	—
Miss R. Thompson	1	—
Miss O'Chichester	3	—
Mrs. Singer	1	—
Mrs. Davies	3	8
Mrs. Cather	1	—
The Misses Trayes	2	—
Mrs. Creaghan	1	3
Miss E. M. Clarke	2	2
Mrs. Allman	3	—
Mrs. Moore	4	1
Miss Grace Vowels	—	1
Miss Carruthers	1	—
Miss Kathleen Corcoran	6	2
H. Wallace Burne, Esq.	3	—
Mrs. Granville	3	—
Mrs. Salmon	4	1
Lady Constance Lytton.	—	1
Mrs. White	4	2
Mrs. Carey	—	2
Miss E. Read	2	—
Miss I. Beach	4	2
Miss F. Florean	11	—
Anon.	1	1
Miss M. Thompson	2	—
Mrs. Inchbold	2	7
Mrs. Taylor	5	—
Mrs. Moss	1	—
Miss Thornhill	1	—
Mrs. Underwood	6	—
Miss Joyce Tuckwell	—	2
Mrs. White	—	2
Mrs. Davis	2	—
Miss M. Fagg	2	5
E.F.	1	—
Mrs. Neuth	1	—
Miss Avery	—	1
Miss Edith Hutchings	4	—
Miss Meinetsberger	—	1
Miss Lumley	7	—
Miss E. M. Richardson	2	—
Miss MacMunn	—	1
Miss Fisher	1	—
Fred Threadgold, Esq.	4	—
Miss Kate Noakes	1	—
Miss K. Broadhurst	3	—
Miss Todhunter	1	—
Miss A. Farmer	—	1
K. C. Mukejee, Esq.	2	—
Miss C. Palmer	7	3
Miss A. M. Lavender	1	—
Miss I. Bussell	1	1
Miss F. Smalley	2	—
Mrs. Robertson	4	3
Miss J. Wade	—	1
Miss Alice Farmer	1	1
Miss M. M. Armstrong	5	—
Mrs. Offer	4	1
Miss M. Balchin	1	2
Miss S. I. Balchin	1	—
Miss Dines	2	—
Miss Mary Dawson	1	—
Mrs. Bouvier	1	—
Miss C. Macdonald	—	1
Mrs. Morgan Scott	2	—
Mrs. Pilcher	9	9
Miss Stubbs	3	—
Mrs. St. John Hall	—	1
Miss M. Wallace	2	2
Miss M. H. Smith	—	2
Mrs. Beedham	—	1
Miss L. C. Lowe	1	2
Miss Lucie James	2	2
Mrs. Fagg	1	—
Miss R. Florence Harris	80	73
Mrs. Dodgson	4	—
Mrs. Ferguson	—	2
Dr. Caroline Sturge	2	—
Miss Olive Walton	1	2
Mrs. McLeod	6	10
Mrs. Green	—	2
The Rev. Green	—	1
Mrs. Baillie Weaver	—	1
Miss A. M. Browne	3	—
Miss E. L. Young	3	1
Miss D. Solomon	2	—
Miss Violet Crocker	3	9
Miss Vera Holme	1	—
The Hon. Mrs. Haverfield	3	—
Mrs. Wood	2	2
Miss Hawley	1	6
Mrs. and the Miss Gerrard	4	4
E. F.	1	—

"AND BODKIN IS AN HONOURABLE MAN"

The following was that "Amazing Revelation" which Mr. Henry Nevinson read at the Fellowship Reunion. (See page 478.)

"Friends, women voting males, lend me your ears;
I come to bury Suffrage, not to praise her.
The evil Freedom does lives after it,
The good is oft interred with its bones;
So let it be with Suffrage.
The noble Bodkin
Hath told you Suffrage was most ill-behaved;
If that were so, it was a grievous fault,
And grievously hath Suffrage answered it.
Here, under leave of Bodkin and the rest
(For Bodkin is an honourable man;
So are they all, all honourable men—
George, and McKenna, Isaacs, Asquith too)
Come I to speak at Suffrage's funeral.
I was her friend, and always found her true,
But Bodkin says she was most ill-behaved;
And Bodkin is an honourable man.
Suffrage freed many women here at home,
Whose taxes did the general coffers fill;
Did this in Suffrage seem most ill-behaved?
When that the poor have cried, Suffrage hath wept;
Misconduct should be made of sterner stuff;
Yet Bodkin says Suffrage was ill-behaved,
And Bodkin is an honourable man
I speak not to disprove what Bodkin spoke;
But I am here to speak what I do know
You all loved Suffrage once, not without cause;
What cause withholds you, then, to speak of it?
O judgment, thou art fled to Suffragettes,
And men have lost their reason!
Bear with me;
My heart's in the waste-paper there with Suffrage
And I must pause till it come back to me

* * * * * * * * *

You all do know this Bill, and I remember
The first time ever Suffrage put it on;
'Twas a spring evening, there in Parliament,
That day she overcame the Anti's host.
Look! in this place ran Redmond's dagger through!
See what a rent the envious Churchill made!
Through this, the well-beloved Welshman stabb'd;
And as he plucked his cursed torpedo back,
Mark how the blood of Suffrage followed it,
As rushing through the House, to be resolved
If George could so unkindly knock or no;
For George, as you all know, was Suffrage's angel;
Judge, O you gods, how dearly he loved Suffrage!
This was the most unkindest cut of all.

* * * * * * * * *

O women, if I were disposed to stir
Your hearts and minds to mutiny and rage,
I should do Bodkin wrong, McKenna wrong,
Who, you all know, are honourable men.
I come not, friends to steal away your hearts;
I am no orator as Bodkin is,
But as you know me all, a plain blunt man
That love the cause, and that they know full well
Who now forbid us leave to speak of it."

A ROYAL SECRET*

There is a peculiar fascination to most minds in romantic stories of royal personages, and the Austrian Royal Family is especially given to romantic adventure. The "ill-fated Hapsburgs" and the "mad Wittelsbachs" of Bavaria are indeed tragic figures in the pages of history, and the union of the two Houses culminated in the tragedy of Meyerling. Many explanations of this terrible affair have been offered, each purporting to be the true solution of the mystery, yet none of them could be accepted as final. Countess Larisch, own cousin of Prince Rudolph and niece of the Empress, may reasonably be expected to know the truth, and her book fulfils the hopes raised by the sensational device on its wrapper: "The Secret of Meyerling Disclosed." The authoress describes in detail the *vie intime* at Court. As a young girl she adored the Empress Elizabeth, "Aunt Cissi," whom she presents as a beautiful, fascinating, absolutely heartless creature, whose one idea was the cult of her own beautiful person. She hated the thought of growing old and considered her beauty more precious than her children. Countess Larisch represents herself as a tool in the hands of Aunt Cissi, who made use of her and afterwards easily dropped her. She is not entirely without malice as regards "Aunt Cissi." The Archdukes and Duchesses, the mad Ludwig II. of Bavaria, the celebrities of the day, are sketched in vivid colours. But the chief interest is, of course, concentrated on the Meyerling drama, now nearly a quarter of a century ago. The setting certainly seems true to life. The beautiful young Baroness Mary Vetsera, passionately in love with the *blasé* and degenerate Crown Prince, was indeed a hapless creature. Viennese life is a fruitful soil for love and intrigue, but never was there a more impossible love-story than this! The last wild days before the tragedy are absorbing reading. Nothing more gruesome can be well imagined than the removal of the lovely girl's dead body by her two grief-stricken uncles. Her only fault was her mad love, and she was cast out, "buried like a dog," whilst Rudolph, who had sacrificed the young creature selfishly, was conveyed in due pomp to his last resting-place. A new shadow is thrown on the tragedy by a mysterious hint of political complications with John of Tuscany, who disappeared from Court circles and has long been supposed to be dead. "I am going to die without dying, for I am tired of the hollow things of life, and I intend to begin a new career," said John of Tuscany The Countess believes that he did not perish at sea:—

> I believe that the Archduke, despite all evidence to the contrary, will return in his own good time. Has he died without dying? I think so.

The book is illustrated by really excellent portraits (some twenty-two in all) of the principal personages, including, of course, the Empress Elizabeth and the beautiful Marie Vetsera. We agree with the Countess that the proper course would have been to tell the truth immediately after the death of the Crown Prince: "The mystery arose because everyone in authority at first completely lost his head." But interest in the affair is still ripe, and the book cannot fail to be eagerly read.

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* "My Past." By Countess Marie Larisch (née Baroness von Wallersee), niece of the late Empress Elizabeth of Austria, and daughter of Duke Ludwig of Bavaria. (Published by Eveleigh Nash. Price 10s. 6d. net.)

NEW BOOKS

THE WAY WE ARE GOVERNED

A Useful Political Handbook

Many of those who condemn the militant part of the Suffrage movement probably have little or no understanding of the government of their own country, or the intricacies of our Parliamentary system. They condemn without realising the kind or amount of difficulty the movement has had to contend with. Professor Lowell has attempted a herculean task,* for he has omitted no part of our government system, and he has certainly succeeded in giving a clear and concise study of perhaps one of the most intricate forms of modern government. It would be impossible to deal with the whole work, but there are various sections of it which provide illuminating and instructive reading for those interested in the Suffrage movement.

Volume I. deals with the Central Government, and we are given a very complete account of the party system and the relation of the Cabinet towards the rest of the House of Commons. The chapter on the Permanent Civil Service is interesting to Suffragists in view of the statement so often made that votes have nothing to do with raising wages, because we find here the following significant statement:—

> At the time when the Revenue and Post Office employees were enfranchised, Disraeli dreaded their use of the franchise for the purpose of raising their salaries. . . . These fears have not proved groundless . . . and ever since the officials in the Revenue and postal departments obtained the right to vote, pressure on behalf of their interest has been brought to bear by them upon Members of Parliament, and by the latter upon the Government.

Mr. Lowell also refers to the Australian State of Victoria having in 1903 to curtail the voting strength of its railway employees, owing to their being able to bring such a preponderating amount of pressure to bear on Government legislation in favour of their own class. These facts—and we must remember that we are here dealing with historical facts and not theories, speak volumes for the defenceless state of an unenfranchised class or sex.

Turning to the question of party manœuvring, we find that whereas during the eighteenth century the principle of Cabinet responsibility was but dimly recognised, the party system has now become so intensified that, to quote the author:—

> The action of the House of Commons has tended to become more and more party action with Ministers, as we have already seen, gradually drawing the initiative in legislation and the control over procedure more and more into their own hands.

And the author goes on to show how very little power remains in the hands of the private Member, and the machinery is revealed which causes the Government to move in response to the precise amount of pressure which is applied.

Volume II. Mr. Lowell has devoted chiefly to local government, the Law and the Empire; but in the first chapters he draws an interesting picture of party ties and organisations and the conditions resultant upon these. Again, it is remarkable to note what the vote has accomplished for the working man in the way of making a "person" of him. After the grant of the franchise in 1867, a host of working men's clubs sprang up, containing rooms for various games, meetings &c., with ample opportunities for lectures and loans of books at cheap prices; added to this was the much coveted chance of being chosen as a delegate to attend the Annual Conference of the National Unions of their respective parties. It is needless to point out how all this tends to educate the voter and put a value upon him as a person.

The chapter on the strength of party ties is illuminating, and would make sound reading for those who exhort women to be patient and trusting:—

> Every Member of Parliament is familiar with the scene when, after a debate carried on before nearly empty benches, the division bell rings, and the Members stream in to decide the issue. There is a moment of uncertainty. The questions, "Which side are we?" "What is it all about?" may be heard again and again.

Where the author comes to deal with the question of the self-governing colonies he might be describing the present situation between the women and the Government, so close is the parallel. Writing of Canada, he tells how things got to such a state of disorder and unrest, and although from a purely military point of view the disorder was not serious, the English Ministry was forced to see that things could not continue as they were, and had to set about making some attempt to conciliate the Canadian people. And the solution of the difficulty was nothing more nor less than the grant and expansion of self-government. So one might continue for pages picking out the lessons history teaches, and the argument to be drawn in favour of the franchise, the more forcible, moreover, when one remembers that the author is not merely giving his point of view, but is laying before us clear facts of our modern political history.

This work was first published in 1908, and the final edition, with an added chapter and brought up to date, in 1912. The use of the book for reference has been facilitated by very clear marginal notes giving the contents of the pages. Dealing with a subject which might be very dry, Professor Lowell has escaped dulness in a most happy manner, and the absence of bias of any kind is a great feature of his useful and interesting work.

K. D. S.

◆

"TIME'S WALLET"

"There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals," said gloomy Bacon, even though he was speaking of friendships between men. Following the classic tradition, he would not have stopped to ask whether women could be or have friends. Of all male prerogatives none has been more absolutely assumed in the literature of every age than that of friendship. In early times women's friendships were ignored, in Victorian days they were sneered at. And yet one knows that all the while there must have been a close-knit loyal woman's world in the background, a world into which some woman's phrase in a Greek chorus suddenly throws a dart of light. To-day women are articulate, and I think that the greatest merit in "Time's Wallet," by Lucy Dale and G. M. Faulding (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 6s.), is the beautiful picture it gives of women as comrades. It was a very daring thing to revive the novel in the form of letters, a form which suggests infinite leisure and a world of calm. Yet the writers of those letters are modern, unmarried women, highly educated, busy, social workers, absorbed in their active life, and finding it full of joy and interest.

Another point of daring is that there is no plot. We move from London to Switzerland or Germany and back again, and there is a general election, a marriage, and a broken engagement; but we are spared all mysteries, and are never uncomfortable as to what is going to happen. What, then, gives this book its charm? It is partly that we like the letter-writers so much. We feel the better for having met Helen Daventry and Nan Bosanquet. They belong to one of the less talked-of newer types of modern woman—the woman who, with all the gentleness and delicacy of the old-world ideal combines a restraining intellect and invincible self-respect. She can be a "bosom friend," and yet keep her judgment apart. She has a healthy attitude towards men. She likes a man and wants his comradeship, but (shades of our grandfathers!) she has a soul of her own, and will by no means sacrifice it for any man in the world. This attitude comes out very clearly in the story of Nan's love-affairs, with which there is bound up a clever sketch of the modern, young, unscrupulous, vote-catching politician. These women do not talk about Suffrage; but they are certainly *all right*. Another charm is the pure, restful English of the letters. The absence of all preciosity or strain is a rare thing to find in novels to-day. It is in tone with the rest of the book, and is like the writers themselves, whose level- loving friendship forms the bulwark of their lives. I have not space to speak of the many other characters who in some magic way gradually come to life in these letters, but I must mention the delicate verse of the young poet, breaking through the prose now and then.

J. E. M.

◆

PIERRE LOTI.

For those who cannot enjoy the charm of Pierre Loti's French, this translation* will doubtless be of service, although the sketches included in the volume are not among his most interesting works. Nor are they topical, for the ultra-flattering description of Carmen Sylva. the poetical Queen of Roumania, dates from Loti's visits in 1887 and 1891, whilst "Constantinople in 1890" is also nearly a quarter of a century old. Perhaps the most interesting sketch is that of the Japanese women in 1890, which shows the transition of Japan from Eastern to Western modes of life and dress, and gives a truly penetrating analysis of the soul of the Japanese woman. The object of translating and writing these sketches in one volume does not appear, unless it is to form one of a series of the French author's works.

◆

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Louis XI. and Charles the Bold." By Lieut.-Col. Andrew C. P. Haggard, D.S.O. (London: Stanley Paul and Co. Price 16s. net.)

"So it is with the Damsel." By Nora Vynne. (London: Stanley Paul and Co. Price 6s.)

"From an Umbrian City." By Benson Hayes. (London: Heath, Cranton, and Ouseley, Ltd. Price 2s. net.)

"The Response of Woman to her Call To-day." By Arthur W. Robinson, D.D. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. Price 6d. net.)

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* "The Government of England." By A. Lawrence Lowell. Volumes 1 and 2. (London: Macmillan. Price 17s. net each.)

* "Carmen Sylva and Sketches from the Orient." By Pierre Loti. An authorised translation by Fred Rothwell. (The Macmillan Company, New York. Price 4s. 6d.)

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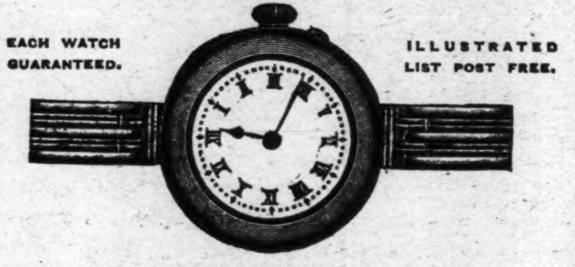

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FRIDAY, MAY 16, 1913.

EVOLUTION OR REVOLUTION?

The story of the progress of the human race is the story of the birth of moral ideas, which attain their incarnation and manifestation in human society by one of two means—Evolution or Revolution.

Evolution is the natural process Some fundamental principle of truth, hitherto undiscovered by the human mind, becomes impregnated with the life-force and pushes its way through prejudices and misconceptions, meeting but the normal obstruction which the materialism of the present always offers to the spirit of the future. With gradual quiet growth it emerges into human consciousness, having secured its place; material conditions gradually adapt themselves to its presence, and it becomes part of the social inheritance of humanity.

But sometimes the process of birth is different. The divine idea is opposed by perverted human will. Those who hold the sceptre of rule in the world summon all the powers of materialism and all the forces of physical repression to their aid, with the intent to crush the new manifestation. They may seem to succeed for a time. But because there is the germ of indestructible life latent in the idea, it grows under the repression, and one day there comes a world-shaking upheaval. That upheaval is revolution.

By revolution destruction and waste and misery are wrought. The idea that was meant as a rich inheritance brings loss, suffering, and disaster, and for a time appears a curse rather than a blessing. That has happened again and again in history.

Any boy or girl in our elementary schools knows how the epoch-making idea of the rights of men as opposed to the right of kings brought overwhelming destruction and horror upon proud France at the end of the eighteenth century, and deluged the streets of Paris with blood. By the perverse will of Louis XIV., by the repression and cruelty of the wealthy and the powerful, the new forces of construction were changed into the forces of destruction. Evolution became Revolution.

Now, again, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the world is confronted with a similar situation. A new moral idea has dawned in the consciousness of thousands of women, and has been communicated by them to large numbers of men. It is the conception of women as an equal half of the human race, and is manifested in a demand for human equality in the body politic. The realisation and assertion of the truth that men and women are equal as touching their humanity is a denial of the claim of men to rule women without their co-operation or consent, by the divine right of masculinity, just as the assertion of liberty, equality, and fraternity was a denial of the claim of the king to rule his subjects without co-operation or consent by the divine right of kingship.

The idea of the eighteenth century was as great a challenge to the accepted traditions of ages as is the idea of the twentieth century.

Since the dawn of European civilisation the human equality of women and men has been denied explicitly and implicitly. Even at the present time, philosophers like Strindberg can be found to put forth in their published writings and to defend publicly the theory that women are not only mentally and morally, but biologically inferior to men. Strindberg and others of his school regard women as an intermediary biological form standing between the man and the child.

What Strindberg says, or what any other person of either sex thinks upon this subject, would be a matter of complete unimportance to women if it were not for the fact that this view is embedded in every legal code of every country where women are denied their constitutional rights. It is the view expressed by Napoleon when he was urged to incorporate into the legal system associated with his name some acknowledgment of the right of mothers to a share of the parental legal control of their own children. "Do the apples in my garden belong to the apple tree or to me?" was his retort, which settled the question as to whether women should be regarded as individuals with rights of their own or as the property of their male owners.

As in France, so in our own country, women are regarded as "an intermediate biological form," not fully evolved human beings, not persons, but a species of property. Upon this conception are based the laws of marriage and divorce and the laws of the guardianship of children Upon this conception has the White Slave Traffic been developed into a system by which human beings are captured and bought and shipped away as merchandise to foreign ports. Because of this fundamentally perverted apprehension of the truth, offences against the person of women have been and are lightly regarded and leniently punished, and violence and cruelty on the part of their "owners" have been condoned and justice colossally perverted in our law courts.

Upon this monstrous lie has the edifice of legal and customary oppression been built, which has imprisoned the bodies, the minds, and the souls of women, arresting their development and stultifying their personality and character.

But the divine idea has been sown in the deep heart of the mother of men, and she knows that she is equal with her sons. In the newly apprehended truth, women realise the divine call of evolution to the attainment in their own personality of the fullest possible development of mind and soul according to the will and purpose of their Creator, and also to the fulfilment of their solemn responsibilities of race-motherhood toward the whole of humanity.

This twentieth century revelation is the transforming hope of the world, the new great gift to the human race.

But indestructible itself, like all things born of the spirit, it is potent for destruction as well as reconstruction. At the present moment, according to an inevitable law of cause and effect, it is working for upheaval.

Condemn militancy if you will. But trace its origin. Understand it. Realise that this demand for an equal status in the human commonwealth has been ruthlessly and violently denied both recognition and outlet, that its concentrated energy has been met at every point by cruel and stubborn repression.

Remember that the answer to women's demand for the vote has been the withdrawal of other human rights sanctioned by long and honourable usage—the right of attendance at political meetings, the vaunted right of petition itself established in the far-famed Bill of Rights, the right of arrest rather than organised violence and assault at the hands of the officially instructed police, followed by the violation of the right of holding public meetings and suppression of the right of free speech.

At no point have legitimate expression or facilities for expansion been permitted. The intense vitality and potency of the transforming idea have been driven back to its expanding centre, and the result is the present social upheaval. The point has come when, if disaster is to be spared, enlightened public opinion must step in.

Are the perversity and madness of a few politicians who are trying to destroy the indestructible to be permitted to bring the people of this country to the verge of revolution? The energy of this new conception of life has become a menace. Cleave it a way for legitimate expansion, give it a recognised place in the social scheme, and it becomes a vivifying and transforming influence in the evolution of the human race.

WHY I AM BEING MADE A BANKRUPT

A Struggle Against the Encroachments of the Executive upon the Liberties of the People

Last Wednesday morning the petition of the Director of Public Prosecutions against me, was heard and granted by the Registrar. The Official Receiver was appointed to take complete charge of my affairs. From that time on until I am discharged I can neither receive property nor part with property nor own property. My financial freedom is completely taken away. I am become a financial cipher.

This action is being taken against me by the Government because I have refused, and continue to refuse, to pay the sum claimed by the Government for the costs of the prosecution in which my wife and I and Mrs. Pankhurst were concerned in May of last year, and as a result of which we all suffered imprisonment.

This refusal on my part, involving, as it does, my bankruptcy, is the only effective means at my disposal of protesting against the dangerous encroachment of the Executive contained in the unjust law under which the Government claim the money from me.

It is the universal practice of Governments to attempt to rivet their dominion upon the people by destroying one by one the safeguards of individual liberty. It is the corresponding duty of those who love freedom to resist, at whatever cost to themselves, these attempts. And the pages of history are full of such examples of resistance by which alone the rights of individuals have been preserved.

When King Charles I. claimed the right to impose the tax of ship money without the consent of the Commons, John Hampden determined to resist; his resistance cost him his freedom and the loss of a far larger sum than the amount of his individual tax, for the judges of his day upheld the right of the King, and declared Hampden's resistance to be illegal. But because Hampden faced the consequences of the Royal displeasure, a great conflict raged around this issue, which was not decided until Charles I. lost his throne and his head, and ever since that day the Executive has been expressly forbidden to levy taxes without the consent of the representatives of the people.

To-day the Government, in its attempts to suppress a revolt which it has itself engineered by refusing to obey the dictates of justice, is arrogating to itself new arbitrary powers fraught with the gravest danger to the individual liberty and rights of the common people. In the dust of the battle which rages round the actual question of Woman Suffrage there is a possibility that these encroachments may be lost sight of. It is essential, therefore, that those of us who see them clearly should not merely proclaim in words what we see, but should be prepared to fight them in our persons whenever the opportunity arises.

Two of these encroachments are largely in the public eye at the present time. They are the suppression of free speech and the suppression of the freedom of the Press. About both of these claims a hot battle is raging.

The third encroachment is more subtle and more easily overlooked. It consists in the claim of the Government to attack, and, if possible, ruin any person of financial standing who takes sides with revolt. In order to understand the position, it is necessary to take a brief survey of two kinds of proceedings which take place in the Courts. These are called civil and criminal respectively. Civil proceedings are brought by one man against another to recover damages for loss suffered. Each side incurs legal costs in fighting the case, and whoever wins is usually allowed to make the other pay his costs in addition to his own. That is fair and equitable, as it operates to the relief of that party who has been wrongly brought into court.

Criminal proceedings are taken by the Government (or the Crown, as it is technically called) against an individual with the object of punishment. If acquitted he goes free, if found guilty he goes to prison or pays a fine. Now, in the old days, in any event, each side paid its own costs. But in 1908 the Government passed a new law empowering the judge to make an order on the prisoner, if found guilty, to pay the costs of the prosecution, as well as the costs of the defence. This is a totally unjust law, for there is no corresponding provision that if the prisoner prove himself innocent his costs shall be reimbursed to him. So far as he is concerned, it is therefore "heads I lose tails you win."

Now, mark what power this gives to the Executive. When a man of financial substance supports a popular revolt they can drag him into Court again and again on the vague and comprehensive charge of conspiracy. Every time he succeeds in proving himself innocent of any offence against the law he suffers loss, because he has to pay the whole of his own costs. But let him be once found guilty, and then, in addition to going to prison and paying his own costs, the Government saddle him with the whole cost of the prosecution of himself and his co-defendants, and the Attorney-General, if he has taken part in the case, does not hesitate to take his hundreds of pounds out of that man's pocket.

See what this might lead to if not fought at the outset. The proprietor and editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* might be attacked by the Liberal Government again and again on a charge of conspiracy in connection with events in Ulster. After a series of expensive trials, in every one of which they would have to pay their own costs, they might at last be convicted, and then have not only to go to prison, but to pay both their own costs and the costs of the prosecution. The proprietor and editor of the *Daily News* might be equally attacked when a Conservative Government came into office.

It may be true that this is not likely to happen in such cases, because of the clamour which would be raised; but it may very easily happen in the case of less known publications and less known individuals, and the Government has therefore the power to threaten them with ruin unless they prove submissive. If they are men of only moderate means they can be beaten right down by such proceedings. This arbitrary power has therefore to be checked, and it can only be checked by resistance of the law by someone financially strong enough to do so.

As the first person against whom the new law has been put into operation, the duty is forced upon me of resisting it to the utmost limit, even though this involves me in the toils of bankruptcy itself.

F. W. Pethick Lawrence.

THE LAW OF BAIL

By G. R. S. Taylor, Barrister-at-Law

There is (or was) a very healthy principle of English law that a person, however fiercely accused or under whatever suspicion, is to be assumed innocent until guilt has been proved by the verdict of a Court of Justice. It is with one special, and very important, deduction from this principle that we now propose to deal. The Law of Bail is a very fundamental part of the right to be free until there is complete proof of guilt.

It is fairly obvious that freedom during the preliminary stages of a prosecution is of the utmost importance for the proper conduct of the defence. It does not require much knowledge of physiology and psychology to realise that a prisoner who comes into court after a period of close confinement is not very likely to do himself justice in court—and in some courts one regrets to think that it is the only moral justice he will get. A prison is not a suitable place in which to draw up one's defence. The confined man is under the very worst conditions for taking the necessary steps for making the best of his case. The subject of bail is therefore all-important; and it is a right which must be maintained with the utmost determination.

Of course, the purely logical deduction from the principle that everyone is assumed innocent until he or she be proved guilty, would be absolute freedom from any imprisonment or restraint until the verdict of guilt. But most people will willingly admit that there are cases where society is justified in the immediate detention of a suspected person under circumstances which suggest that without it justice may be evaded.

It so happens that common sense and justice and the law to a large extent coincide on this particular subject. There is not often that happy combination. The law is quite clear on the point. In the leading case, *re* Robinson, Mr. Justice Coleridge laid down the law as follows: "The test, in my opinion, of whether a party ought to be bailed is whether it is probable the party will appear to take his trial." The question of guilt may be an element in applying this test; for it is obvious that a prisoner who is practically certain to be convicted of murder, for example, will put himself to considerable inconvenience of travel in order to escape a trial. But the only conclusive matter to decide is whether there is a reasonable chance that to release the accused at all would be to release him altogether.

In other words, it is the law of England that every judicial officer is compelled by law to set a prisoner free until the day of trial, unless the magistrate can show good reason for a contrary procedure. Every untried prisoner has a right to bail, unless there are reasons why it should be refused him owing to special circumstances in his case.

So much for the theory of the law. When we consider the practice of the law, there are grounds for believing that this elementary principle is not always respected by magistrates or demanded by prisoners as firmly as they might. It is for this reason that it is now advisable to call attention to the facts. A magistrate is too apt to assume that every person brought before him is guilty of the alleged offence, whereas the law orders him to assume that there is innocence; and consequently compels him to grant bail unless there is sufficient legal reason to the contrary. In the words of a standard law book: "Refusal or delay by any judge or magistrate to bail any person bailable is at common law an offence against the liberty of the subject. It is also a violation of the Habeas Corpus Act, 1679, and of the Bill of Rights, 1688."

Where, then, lies the discretionary power of the magistrate to grant bail or to refuse it? This power he undoubtedly has; and more recent legislation has, apparently, even extended his discretion to the cases of misdemeanours, where formerly, at common law, he was compelled to grant bail (after commitment for trial, but not on remand during a preliminary enquiry) as an absolute right. But now it would appear as a result of the working of a statute of 1908 (though the law is by no means quite clear) that bail in every case, whether the charge be a felony or a misdemeanour, is at the discretion of the magistrate, subject to appeal. But this discretion must be exercised strictly within fixed rules. He must not peremptorily refuse to argue the matter with a prisoner or his lawyer. The magistrate must give reasons for infringing the liberty of the subject by refusing bail. The onus of proof lies on him, not on the prisoner, who is entitled to give answering reasons why he should remain at liberty. A curt announcement—"No bail"—without argument, is not in accordance with English law. And the only legal reason which the magistrate is entitled to give in support of a refusal of bail is that there is a strong probability that the accused will not appear on the day of trial.

The amount of the bail and the number of sureties, if any, are within the terms of his discretion, also. But here again it will be an infringement of the Bill of Rights if excessive bail be demanded. But beyond the amount and the persons of the sureties, the magistrate appears to have no legal right to attach any conditions to the terms of the bail. For example, he does not seem entitled to extract any promise not to repeat an alleged offence (e.g., not to publish a certain newspaper, when it may be the whole issue of the trial turns on whether such a paper is seditious or not).

It is necessary to point out that the law regarding bail after committal for trial, and bail on remand during a preliminary enquiry, does not exactly coincide in its statutory or common law authority. But the main principles, stated above, appear to be uniform in their application to both classes of cases. In the case of remand by adjournment during a preliminary enquiry, a magistrate cannot adjourn for over eight consecutive days without granting bail. It is a doubtful legal point whether he can adjourn a case for over eight days, even if he grants bail; but probably he can do so. This power of adjournment places in the hands of the police a possibility of unlimited detention which makes the firmest assertion of the privilege of bail of the utmost importance. Unfortunately, the High Court shows more reluctance in overriding the decision of a magistrate in a remand case than in his decision after committal for trial. Nevertheless, in both cases, it is possible to appeal under the law of Habeas Corpus Act or by application for a writ of certiorari.

THE RIGHT OF PUBLIC MEETING

The Men's League carried on the campaign in defence of Free Speech last Sunday in Hyde Park, where they held two meetings, one of which was insufficiently protected by the police against an organised interruption of hooligans, and was consequently broken up at the end of half an hour, while the other, held without police protection at all, was remarkable for the entire absence of hooligans from the audience which attended it.

The principal meeting was held from a lorry, and for some little time the speakers were given a fair hearing. Then the interruptions began, and the meeting subsequently became very disorderly, the extremely small force of police in attendance being apparently incapable of dealing firmly and efficaciously with the interrupters, who, as before, were marshalled in a body. Finally, the lorry was overturned, and the meeting had to be abandoned.

The Second Meeting

Before this happened, two of the speakers, Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Laurence Housman, left the platform and started another meeting on the grass, some 150 yards away. This was perfectly orderly and well attended, and Mr. Malcolm Mitchell, who acted as chairman on the lorry, contends that this was proof of his assertion that the main meeting was broken up by pre-arrangement by a gang of roughs; these fellows knew nothing about the second meeting, so left it to the general public, who, of course, were ready to hear what the speakers had to say.

The Police Attitude

The attitude of the police towards the whole question was more or less defined by Sir Edward Henry, Chief Commissioner of London Police, in a letter to the Secretary of the Men's League, in which he withdraws the previous prohibition of a lorry to be used as a platform in Hyde Park, but adds the proviso, "You will, of course, understand that should the use of the van prove a source of danger in the event of the crowd becoming hostile and getting out of hand, I reserve the right of objecting to its use on a future occasion."

The important passage in this letter is the following:—

"The Public Meetings Act gives no additional power and imposes no additional duties on the police, but it makes the deliberate interruption of public meetings an offence cognisable by the law. The view taken by the police is that they are not required to take any initiative under the Act, and are not empowered to arrest interrupters. It is not their business to secure a hearing for speakers. It is for the speakers to get on such good terms with their audience that they can secure a hearing for themselves. The police ought not to interfere except to prevent a breach of the peace, and it may and must often happen that an act constituting a breach of the peace may not be done within sight of a police officer, or if done in his sight it may not be in his power to arrest the particular wrongdoer."

A Liberal Paper's Comment

On the above letter, the *Manchester Guardian* for May 10 commented in a leading article, saying: "It is, no doubt, true that it is for the speaker to get the meeting into sympathy with him, and that the police have neither the duty nor the power to arrest any and every interrupter. That, however, is not the point. What the Act says is that 'any person who at a lawful public meeting acts in a disorderly manner for the purpose of preventing the transaction of the business for which the meeting was called together,' is liable to a fine of £5 or a month's imprisonment. What Sir Edward Henry now says is that it is not the duty of the police to intervene unless a breach of the peace is threatened. Surely the Act goes further than that, and makes it the duty of the police to arrest any person who interrupts, not in order to elicit the truth, but to break up the meeting. We do not envy the police constable his task of distinguishing between reasonable interruption and interruption which is for the purpose of breaking up a meeting, but that Parliament in its wisdom placed this duty upon him is hardly open to doubt."

What an Observer Saw

The London Correspondent of the same paper is emphatic in his belief that what he calls "the attitude of detachment on the part of the police" is mainly responsible for the disorder that now characterises Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon. "To-day," he writes of last Sunday's proceedings, "there was an unusually large number of persons in the Park, and among them a distinct and obvious leavening of the hooligan element, attracted, no doubt, by the prospect of a row with immunity from arrest. . . . The mark this afternoon was any woman in a purple hat, which was considered to be the badge of the suffragist, and several young women who were so adjudged by mob law without question were severely hustled. From the outskirts of a howling mob one caught sight of a girl, who might or might not have been a suffragist—there was nothing in her dress or demeanour to show—being pushed hither and thither, till the police removed her with quite unnecessary roughness. Several others were mobbed in similar fashion. The vicious emotions of the crowd worked in the same way in each case. There was first the quick shuffle of feet through the grass, the swaying of the crowd, then the sight of persons running in a close-packed mass. Then if one clambered on to railings one could see some small person with a very white face tossing about in a sea of men, whose combined facetiousness made something like an angry roar. Two or three policemen would then shoulder their way through, seize the small object in the purple hat, and bundle her along, while walking-sticks struck her from behind, and angry voices cried, 'Duck her in the Serpentine.' When she was safely out of the Park the crowd would turn and look for another, and they generally found her."

Finally, the writer concludes with the significant statement, which confirms our own previous accounts of these weekly happenings: "Meanwhile the pickpocket plied his trade, and the flash gang insulted passing strangers. The Park is not now a decent place for women on Sunday afternoon, thanks to Sir E. Henry's pronouncement."

Another Account

Miss Constance E. Maud sends us the following account of what she saw in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon. We gather from it that she reached the Park shortly after the close of the Men's League meeting described above, and had gone away towards the band-stand before the mobbing of isolated women commenced, which is mentioned by the London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*:—

"It is difficult to believe that the gentlemen who have sent their reports to the papers of the scenes of tumult and disorder in Hyde Park on Whit Sunday were really there except in their own wild and disordered imaginations. With a friend I walked all over the park that afternoon, and the 'scenes' everywhere were of the most peaceable, not to say pastoral nature. On comparing notes with other friends also in the park, I found their experiences tallied with mine. The vast majority of the Sunday crowd was centred round the band, many thousands even though not within earshot quietly seated enjoying the sunny, peaceful afternoon. Under the Reformer's Tree were a few police standing by their horses with an unoccupied air. I asked them whether there had been any Suffrage riots up to that time—it was four o'clock then. They answered 'None,' that the Men's League meeting had just concluded, and pointed to a big crowd slowly dispersing in the distance. The speakers, they said, had had a big audience for over an hour, and only at the end some youths had interrupted with their usual booing and rushing, but the meeting was practically over by then. We continued our walk, and came upon another big crowd surrounding a speaker I could not manage to see or hear from the fringe where I stood, but all were listening with absorbed attention and apparent sympathy, for the only interruption was an occasional burst of kindly laughter. I asked a man in front of me who was speaking, and he answered, 'A woman for the vote.' About ten minutes later I watched this crowd also disperse in as orderly a way as though they were leaving a church. My surprise may be imagined therefore on reading the lurid newspaper accounts in the Monday papers. I can only conclude they were inspired by persons whose wishes were fathers to their words, and these same words probably written by the light of Saturday's lamps."

A Strong Resolution

At the Clerks' Conference at Leicester last Saturday, the following resolution was carried, with eight dissentients, after a stormy discussion:—That this conference "notes with great concern the infringement of the rights of free speech at public meetings in the Home Secretary's recently issued order prohibiting certain public meetings in certain parks, and strongly condemns such order, and calls for its immediate withdrawal."

PROHIBITION OF INDOOR MEETINGS

Encouraged by the prohibition of open-air meetings, the owners of halls are now putting difficulties in the way of militant Suffragists who desire to conduct their propaganda by means of indoor meetings. The Essex Hall has been forbidden to the Women's Social and Political Union, even to the Clerks' W.S.P.U., an association of women clerks mostly employed in the City, who had hired the hall for a meeting there on May 19, but will now hold it at the Holborn Hall instead. We hear of similar difficulties being experienced with regard to suburban halls; and the Caxton Hall has been refused to the Women's Freedom League on the ground that "violent militant speeches" were made there at a recent meeting held by the League. This statement, on inquiry, appeared to have been made on the authority of a newspaper account, which was said to have alleged that subscriptions were asked for at the meeting, for the placing of bombs in houses and churches. The Women's Freedom League, who have never advocated the destruction of property in any form, are demanding the production of the newspaper report in question.

ARE WE IN RUSSIA?

A Press Comment

The Russian exiles who have sought a home of refuge in our midst must be wondering whether Great Britain is not suffering under an autocracy as severe as Tsardom. Recent events have robbed our nation of all pretence of claiming to be a land of civic liberty. The rights of free speech and a free Press have been ruthlessly trampled under foot. . . The clear-sighted statesman does not endeavour to stamp out the fire of revolt against suppression by further acts of suppression. . . . To deepen the indignity of a sex or a people already denied the right of self-government by denying free speech in addition is to invite violence and outrage. The revolt is driven underground, and plots are hatched in secret.—**Labour Leader.**

THE FELLOWSHIP REUNION

By a Looker-on

Last Wednesday week, just at the time when the paper was going to press, a great gathering of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship was held in the Suffolk Street Galleries. Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, as Editors of the paper, were the hosts, and hundreds of their old friends and other devoted supporters of the cause were assembled. It was an encouraging sight to see the faces of so many who have won high distinction in science, literature, the arts, and political or professional life; but even more encouraging to recognise on every side the familiar faces of scores of people who have become known to each other only through their service in the movement, and have stood side by side through all the years of the struggle. That showed that the cause is not a matter of passing excitement, but possesses the driving-force of persistence. It is no "riot"; it is a "revolution."

The charm of the evening was the meeting of friends combined without reserve for one great purpose in which all other differences, whether of class or fortune or opinion, absolutely disappear. But at one end of the largest room a small platform was arranged and part of the time was given to a few short speeches. Everyone would have been bitterly disappointed if the opportunity of hearing the leaders of the Fellowship had been lost. When Mrs. Pethick Lawrence rose from the Chair, she was greeted with that enthusiasm of personal devotion which she will always receive from all who love the cause. At last there was silence, and the beautiful voice was heard again, uttering the perfectly formed sentences with precision, accurate wording, and entire clearness of arrangement and intention. I who heard her superb address to Lord Coleridge when he sat as her so-called judge about a year ago, could not but recall that great occasion. And I could not help contrasting her high and ordered eloquence with the mumbling hesitation, the chaotic obscurity, the banal verbiage, and haphazard grammar, not only of the average voter, but of the average Cabinet Minister.

Her object was to explain the meaning of the Fellowship. She showed that it was an association which all might join, whether "constitutional" or "militant," "spiritual" in militancy, active resisters, passive resisters, or tax-resisters. All that was necessary for membership was a love of the cause, a recognition of its predominant urgency, and a resolve to protest by one means or another against the trickery, fraud, and betrayal with which the Government had from the first attempted to silence the demand of justice. As so often in her speeches, her points were illustrated by memories of the humorous sayings and incidents that she can recall from the years of her long service in the cause of the working-people and the poor.

Mr. Henry Nevinson followed. He said that everyone knew what he would like to say at this crisis, which (to borrow Mr. Arnold Ward's, or his mother's, eloquence in the previous Monday's debate) he might call "Too fatal, too august, too fraught with England's utter weal or woe." Though he was not sure what these words meant, he had no doubt they expressed the situation. For the sake of variety, he would rather read an "Amazing Revelation," which he recommended to the attention of Scotland Yard. It appeared to be the original draft of a famous passage in "Julius Cæsar," and both detectives and other readers will find it printed separately in another column.

Miss Beatrice Harraden was received with the applause she has justly won by her eminence in literature and in the service of the cause. She dwelt chiefly on her recent experiences in America, telling us how entirely interested in Suffrage and militancy the American people evidently were. It seemed as though people would let her speak of nothing else. To journalists it was especially interesting to hear that what all audiences and interviewers wanted and asked for was "a story"—not a statement of principles or reasons, but just a story of life that would illustrate the truth and stick in their minds. It was interesting also, and for us very humiliating, to be told how obliging and open-hearted (should one say "open-columned"?) the great American editors were in comparison with our own grudging and ill-mannered journalists, combined by a common agreement to misrepresent or boycott. But then, as we all know, in England "chivalry" is never thought of except as a reason for refusing justice. Miss Harraden concluded with an eloquent passage upon the greatness of the movement, which no coalition of forces could ever defeat, though armed with all the terror of Bodkin and Muskett.

Then Mr. Lawrence himself rose, and his reception was second only to the Chairman's, for in his case also, no one will ever forget what he has done and suffered for the cause, or what he is doing and suffering still. He carefully explained the political situation with his usual lucidity and directness, showing, as was shown in last week's paper, that the Dickinson Bill was defeated, not on the Suffrage question, but by the Liberals' trickery in framing a Bill that few Conservatives would support, and by the Nationalists' treachery in voting against their convictions. He also fully explained the spite and rancour of the Government's continued persecution of himself in the matter of costs for last year's trial.

Mrs. Lawrence next appealed for assistance for the Fellowship. There were many forms that assistance could take, and Mrs. Lawrence has never been known to appeal in vain. Her success was extraordinary, especially in the number of those who promised to get new members and to sell papers. Then conversation and the renewal of friendships began again, and the evening ended late and happily. Everything in this movement succeeds.

ECHOES OF THE SUFFRAGE DEBATE

PROFESSOR CARL PEARSON ANSWERS THE PRIME MINISTER

In the following letter, which appears in the *Times* of May 12, Professor Carl Pearson gives an admirable answer to the Prime Minister, and at the same time makes out a clear case for the present unrest among women:—

"In the House of Commons last night the Prime Minister gave expression to the view that the absence of direct representation of women in the House has not caused, and is not causing, neglect by Parliament of the special interests and needs of the excluded class. He demanded a concrete case in which it can be alleged 'either that the conscience of Parliament would have been more rapidly quickened or the action of Parliament been more effectually and remedially directed if women had been represented here than it has been during the last twenty-five years.'

"There are many such cases, but as he asks for one such concrete example, may I refer him to the position of women students at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge? At Cambridge for more than thirty years women have been admitted to the degree examinations of the University, but have been refused the adequate recognition of graduation. During the years that have rolled by since women were admitted to these Universities, all the Universities of Great Britain and the majority of Continental Universities have recognised the claims of women to graduation. These claims are not merely sentimental; whether it be reasonable or not, the degree has a professional and commercial value, and many women educated at Cambridge have afterwards to seek for degrees elsewhere, and prolong an academic career, which is often a serious handicap economically and from the standpoint of examinational strain. Does Mr. Asquith imagine that if women had been duly represented in the House of Commons it would have been possible for him to support the wholly selfish attitude of the male authorities of our older Universities by the answer he made to a question in the House on Monday night? It ran:—

"'I have for a long time had under consideration the various proposals for the appointment of a Royal Commission or Commissions to inquire into the constitution of, and other matters connected with, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and I have reluctantly come to the conclusion that in existing circumstances the setting up of such an inquiry might lead to delay in the prosecution of necessary reforms, and is not likely to be productive of fruitful consequences.'

"Why were the Test Acts abolished? Simply because the Nonconformists had the vote, and not because the unreasonableness of the test was demonstrated to the average ecclesiastical mind. Why have women had to wait more than thirty years for the degrees of the old Universities? Not because the resonableness of their demand has not been demonstrated to a male Legislature, but because the male rulers of this country are so anxious to retain old or purchase new votes that they never have time to consider questions—like the chief questions in which women are interested—which have no votes behind them. 'Very interesting, very interesting indeed,' a distinguished member of the present Cabinet once said of a great social and racial problem; 'but what votes are there in it?'

The Only Political Method

"In the absence of these votes our politicians seem blindly leading us towards social anarchy. Militancy can only be repressed if the great mass of the community feels there is no real grievance behind it. Such speeches as that of the Prime Minister show how little he realises the very strong feeling there is that the House of Commons does not understand the needs of women; and that Ministers and others have been playing with women rather than endeavouring to remove their grievances or providing them with the only recognised political method of remedying them themselves."

Another answer to the same challenge of the Prime Minister is contained in a letter by Miss Bertha Mason, appearing in the *Manchester Guardian*, in which she says:—

"The long delay in raising the 'age of consent' presents itself at once to my mind as a 'concrete case.' So far back as 1885 the House of Lords Committee recommended that the 'age of consent' should be made eighteen, but the House of Commons adopted the lower age of sixteen, and no serions attempt, so far as I know, has since been made by Parliament to raise it. I submit that judged by this matter alone 'Parliament has been unduly negligent of or oblivious to the interests' of young girls. I submit that in regard to this matter 'the conscience of Parliament would have been more rapidly quickened and the action of Parliament would have been more effectually and remedially directed' had women possessed the Parliamentary franchise. This is but one 'specific' example out of many which could be quoted to prove that Parliament has been careless and is careless in regard to matters concerning the highest moral interests of the girls of the nation."

MR. BALFOUR AND THE SUFFRAGE BILL

Mr. Balfour, in the following letter to the *Times*, indicates the reason for many of the Unionist abstentions from the Suffrage division of May 6:—

"My attention has been called to a passage in a speech delivered last night by Mr. F. E. Smith.

"In this he commented (by anticipation) on my absence from the division lobby, drawing the inference that, in my opinion, the 'game of women suffrage was up.' The inference is incorrect. Had the Conciliation Bill been the measure before the House, I should have voted in its favour. I believe that other supporters of female suffrage on the Front Opposition Bench are in the same case."

THE TRAITOR AND THE REBEL

The Traitor

At the weekly meeting of the Glasnevin Division A.O.H., held in Dublin last week, the following resolution was unanimously carried:—

"That we congratulate the majority of the members of the Irish Party on their action in opposing the Woman's Suffrage Bill, and heartily thank those Irish members who, by helping to secure its defeat, removed a serious obstacle in the path of Home Rule; and that we cannot refrain from expressing our amazement at and condemnation of the conduct of Messrs. Boland, Gwynn, Hazleton, Lynch, O'Shee, W. H. K. Redmond, and White in placing their Suffragette sympathies above the cause of Ireland a Nation."

The Rebel

At a committee meeting of the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association held in Dublin last week, the following resolution was carried unanimously:—

"The Committee of the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association, while deeply deploring the fresh outburst of outrages on the part of a small number of misguided Suffragists, which is following the rejection of Mr. Dickinson's Bill, much regret that they cannot exonerate our Irish representatives who voted against that proposed measure of justice to women from a large share of responsibility for the recurrence of those outrages."

The committee also passed a cordial vote of thanks to those members for their independent and courageous action, who have recognised the justice of the claim of women by voting for Mr. Dickinson's Bill.

"IF MAN WERE MOTHER OF THE RACE"

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—In the House of Commons, on the 6th inst., Sir Compton Rickett declared that had the progress of civilisation depended on woman we should be a thousand years behind our present attainment.

Does the hon. member suppose that man would have made the same progress if on him had fallen the bearing and care of all children throughout the ages, thus limiting his sphere to the narrow precincts of the home? True, to man has fallen the financial upkeep of the home, but has not this proved the most effectual means for developing his "constructive and intellectual powers," involving as it does the special training of hand and brain? Competition has forced him to call every power into action. If on man had devolved the care of all the infants, children, and invalids throughout the ages, methinks he would to-day find less of glory and honour attached to his name.

For this Herculean task carries with it neither glory or fame. Surely man is ungrateful.—Yours, &c.,

London, S.W. J. D.

HATS OR BREECHES?

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—In the debate of May 6, a Mr. Hunt was preoccupied with the problem of the hats women would wear when they sat in Parliament. One could not very well expect Mr. Hunt—being a mere man—to stick to the point, which was ostensibly votes for women, and neither, perhaps, could one expect him to say anything very sensible when he went off at half-cock about hats. Crinolines would no doubt have made fast and furious fun in such a discussion fifty years ago. But I propose to supply Mr. Hunt with a historical memorandum touching male members of the House of Commons, which is doubtless unknown to him:—"That over the seats in the Parliament-house were certain holes in the walls, in which were placed posts to uphold a scaffold round about the house within, for them to sit upon who used the wearing of great breeches stuffed with hair like wool-sacks, which fashion being before the 8th year of Elizabeth, the scaffolds were taken down."

One word more. When a member fifty years hence—for fashions always recur—had successfully negotiated his neighbours' breeches in his efforts to "address the Chair," he might, thinks Mr. Hunt, be obliged to say, "Mrs. Speaker, ma'am." Why does Mr. Hunt think that so caustic, so comic? He thinks it so because he, in common with other Englishmen, regards the titles "Mrs.," "Miss," and "Madam," which designate their mothers, wives, and sisters, as less dignified than the titles "Mr." and "Sir," which designate themselves.

This is not to the credit of the Englishman. One of the things which women are finding out is that we have all been taught to laugh at the wrong jokes and to lament the foibles of the wrong people.—Yours, &c., M. A. R. TUKER.

PRESS COMMENTS

THE PREMIER'S CHIVALRY

But the whole blame for the loss of the Dickinson Bill does not rest at the militants' door. . . . It was clear that Tuesday's vote was not a free one. The Irish were not free. They voted not on woman suffrage, but on Home Rule. The Tories were not free. They voted on the Parliament Act. Many Liberals were not free; they voted with one eye on the Prime Minister and another on the general stability of the Government. . . . The Prime Minister said much of the disturbance of the "chivalrous" habits of life which woman suffrage would bring about. What kind of a "chivalry" is it which thus mocks women's hopes, admitting them to the intrigue and diplomacy of politics, and over-using them for its mere electoral cajoleries, while playing with the one serious political boon they ask? A "chivalrous" male world may turn a better face to the looking-glass when it ceases to sweat women workers and to humbug women politicians.—**Nation.**

THE "SPECTATOR" BREATHES AGAIN

For the moment, however, we may fairly say, "All's well that ends well." Unfortunately it is only for the moment, and we can only hope that by the time the question next comes to the front members will have become more chary of making promises in the mistaken belief that they will never be called on to perform them.—**Spectator.**

THE LIBERAL ADVISER

The moral, then, for the women is twofold. If their cause is to recover from this set-back they must first of all find some means of checking the militants. . . . Next, they must somehow bring their different classes of supporters into line upon a definite proposal. For our part we believe that the Conciliation Bill is the utmost measure that could be passed in this Parliament, and that a mistake was made in enlarging the issue.—**Westminster Gazette.**

THAT HARDY ANNUAL

It is the most serious set-back the proposal has suffered in Parliament for more than twenty years. Ever since 1890 a Bill for conferring the franchise on women has been annually introduced, and until a couple of years ago it was steadily gaining favour. It was carried through a second reading again and again by increasing and at length even formidable majorities. True, it was an "academic" measure, a private member's Bill which could not be expected to take immediate effect; but it could not be doubted that a proposal which had received the acquiescence of the House of Commons by majorities of a hundred and upwards would eventually be placed seriously and authoritatively by party leaders before the nation.—**Standard.**

THE HOPEFUL CELT

The loss of Mr. Dickinson's Bill is a serious reverse for the suffragists. It means that so far as this Parliament is concerned they cannot hope for success. Still, we hope they will not be disheartened.—**South Wales Daily News.**

PRINCIPLE OR OFFICE?

The speeches of the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary in opposition to each other were the feature of the second night's debate on the Women's Suffrage Bill, and although there was nothing objectionable in their style or tone, taken together they form a strong condemnation of the Government. Both claimed credit for sticking to their principles, but they are not less determined on sticking to office.—**Belfast News Letter.**

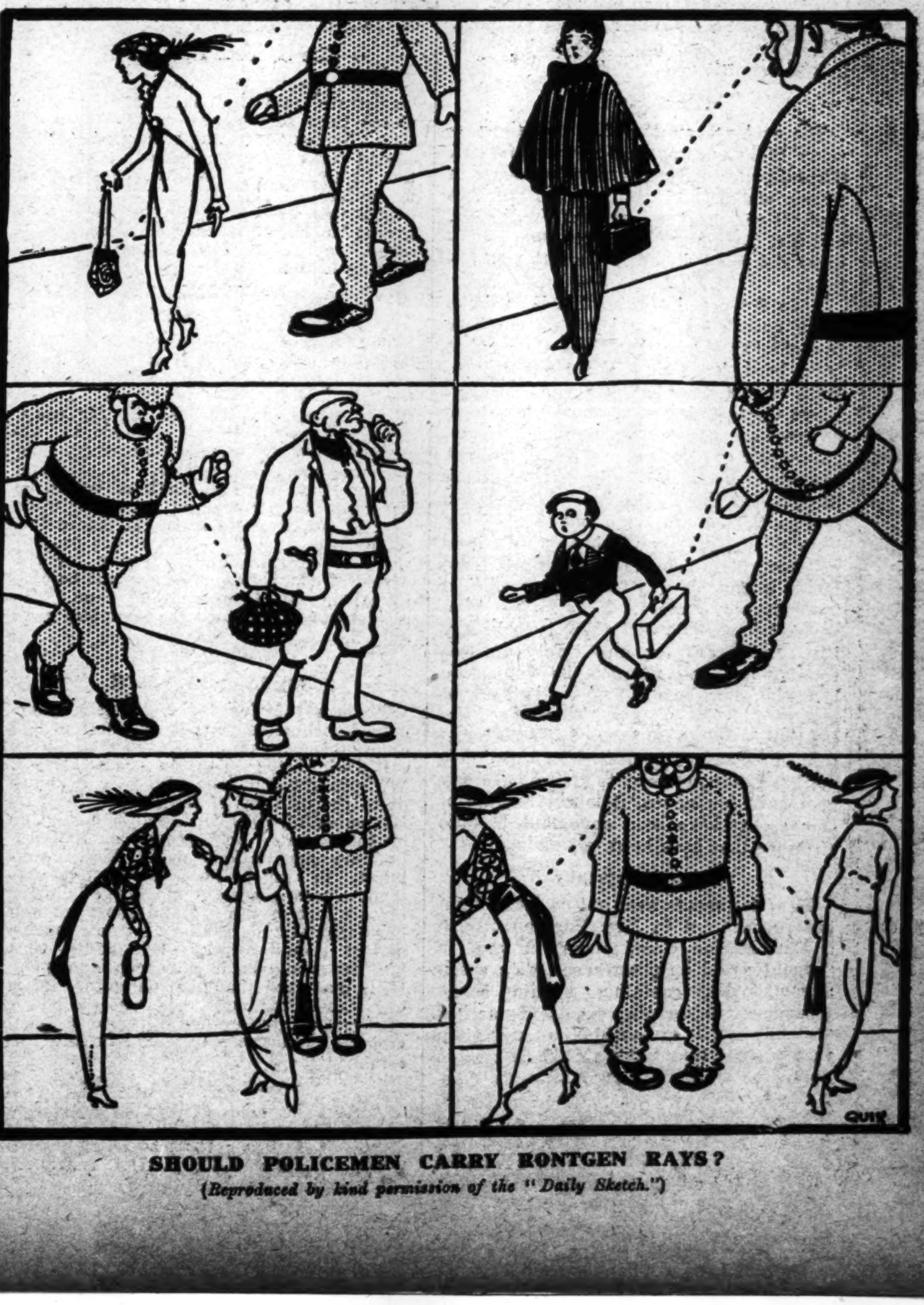
THE ONLY WAY

The Irish Party have again killed a Woman Suffrage Bill. . . . We shall return to the division and the moral of it—which, we believe nearly all Suffragists must now agree, is that Mr. Redmond is *the* enemy of Woman Suffrage, and that, for constitutional as well as militant societies, the only honourable and logical course is opposition to the Redmond-Asquith Coalition.—**Irish Citizen.**

A JUSTIFIABLE DOUBT

Lack of principle could surely go no farther. But we are not sure that the treatment of the woman has not been as unfair as the treatment of the electorate. For year after year the militant Suffragists have been led on by false hopes and promises never destined to be fulfilled.—**Globe.**

THE BOMB PANIC



SHOULD POLICEMEN CARRY RONTGEN RAYS?

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THE SUFFRAGIST CONSPIRACY CHARGE

THURSDAY, MAY 8

At Bow Street Police Court, on Thursday in last week, Mr. Curtis Bennett resumed the hearing of the charge of conspiring to commit damage to property against the nine defendants connected with the Women's Social and Political Union:—

Mrs. Flora Drummond, general organiser; Miss Annie Kenney, organizer; and Mrs. Beatrice H. Sanders, financial secretary of the Women's Social and Political Union; Miss Rachel Barrett, assistant editor; Miss Laura Geraldine Lennox, sub-editor, and Miss Agnes Lake, business manager, of the *Suffragette* newspaper; Miss Harriet Roberta Kerr, manageress of the offices; and Mr. Edwy Godwin Clayton, scientific chemist and author, of Kew Road, Richmond.

Mr. A. H. Bodkin and Mr. Travers Humphreys (instructed by Mr. William Lewis) appeared on behalf of the Director of Public Prosecutions; Mr. R. D. Muir (instructed by Mr. E. A. W. Marshall) defended.

Hunger-strikers in the Dock

The four women defendants, who were refused bail on the preceding Monday, had carried out their threat of adopting the hunger strike, with the result that both Mrs. Drummond and Miss Kenney were in a very weak state when the hearing was resumed, and it had to be suspended once for some time, and finally adjourned till the following Tuesday on account of Mrs. Drummond's condition of health.

In view of these facts, Mr. McKenna's statement in the House of Commons, that very afternoon, may be placed in the same category with an answer of Mr. Ellis Griffith's, given a week or two ago, when he declared that Miss Emerson's health was "quite satisfactory," and within a few hours she was removed from Holloway Gaol in an ambulance. On this occasion (Thursday, May 8) Mr. Wedgwood asked the Home Secretary whether the four women remanded without bail on Monday are in a fit state to take their trial to-day, and whether they have been on hunger strike since the remand; and if they were not in a fit state to be tried would the Crown Prosecutor be instructed to postpone the trial till they had recovered?

To which Mr. McKenna replied: The four women mentioned are attending the proceedings at Bow Street this morning. The medical officer reports that they were in a fit condition to attend.

THE EVIDENCE

The evidence on May 8, as on the previous Monday, was in the main formal. Several police officers were called to put in transcripts of shorthand notes of speeches made at various meetings of the W.S.P.U., and Mr. Bodkin read extracts from an address delivered by Miss Barrett, as follows:

"We are proud of what has been done. I am quite sure there is no woman here to-night but thinks that these things that have been happening are right things. With regard to what happened at Mr. Lloyd George's house, the authorities have no proof except two hatpins, four hairpins, and a pair of golosh shoes, No. 8, and yet the whole Press is unanimous in putting it down to the Suffragists. Well, ladies and gentlemen, we are proud of what has been done, but we blush to think it is necessary for women to do this work. We feel it is the only way to get that political freedom we require. . . . We have made it impossible that there is to be any law, any order, or any safety in this country until women get the vote. We hear there has been a fire, but it does not give us a shock; we say, 'Thank goodness for that.' When we hear of a bomb being thrown we say, 'Thank God for that.' We neither falter nor repent. If we have any qualms of conscience, it is not because of things that have been done, but because of things that have been left undone."

More Documents

More documents were put in, including a letter addressed to Mrs. Pankhurst from a Mrs. Marion Cunningham, in which a "gigantic raid on pillar-boxes, with specially made bags containing staining acid," was suggested. Another document, marked "confidential," contained the suggestion that a shorthand typist should be sent to apply for a position on Ashworth's typewriting staff in the House of Lords. "When the police are thoroughly familiar with her personality as a typist," continued the letter, "she will be passed without question beyond the barrier."

Printed and manuscript papers found in Mr. E. G. Clayton's house at Richmond were also produced in court. These related to women's suffrage, and included a list of meetings, at some of which Clayton was announced as chairman. One paper commenced: "Acts of violence and destruction of property are not necessarily wrong," and contained references to the French Revolution, the Reform riots, preservation of footpaths, and so on.

In a petty cash book found in Mrs. Sander's room were the following entries:—

July 11, 1912, Clayton, bank-note £5.
Dec. 18, 1912, Clayton, xs., stamps, telegr., and trav., £5.
Jan. 20, 1913, Clayton £5.
March 17, 1913, Clayton, £3.

Letters from Paris

Detective-inspector Lawrence said that amongst the documents he took possession of at Miss Lennox's house were nine letters, dated between October 13, 1912, and March 24, 1913, from Miss Christabel Pankhurst, containing instructions for the preparation of the *Suffragette*. In one of them there occurred the passage, "Clayton's article can face leader." The same witness raised laughter by producing a circular which, Mr. Bodkin said, referred to a society founded in 1907, and called Y.H.B., which apparently stood for Young Hot Bloods.

Another witness deposed to having found in a room at Lincoln's Inn House a satchel containing eight bottles of benzine.

The Printer and the "Suffragette"

Evidence having been given to prove that the rateable value of Lincoln's Inn House was £1,488, that Mrs. Mabel Tuke was the rated occupier, and that Mrs. Sanders signed the cheques in payment of the rates, the overseer in the composing department of Messrs Speaight and Sons, Fetter Lane, was next called.

He said his firm printed the *Suffragette* in the course of last year and down to April 25 last. At first the imprint which appeared on the paper was "Printed and published by the Women's Press, London." The copy for this was supplied by the W.S.P.U., and subsequently it was amended to "Printed by trade-union labour and published by the Women's Press." After January 31 the general manager of the firm altered the imprint to "Printed by Speaight and Sons." Miss Lennox and Miss Barrett used to attend on publishing nights to make up the paper. Shown a copy of the *Suffragette*, dated April 18, with portions blacked out, witness explained that this was done by order of the general manager.

The Hearing Adjourned

Chief-inspector McBrian, in reply to the magistrate, said the police had now completed their search, and as at this point Mrs. Drummond was compelled for a second time to leave the court, and was too ill this time to return, the hearing was adjourned until Tuesday, May 13.

Bail was allowed to all the defendants except Mr. E. G. Clayton; and Mrs. Drummond was removed in a taxi-cab to a nursing home.

TUESDAY'S PROCEEDINGS

The hearing of the charge was resumed last Tuesday, when all the defendants, except Mrs. Drummond, were in court. On behalf of Mrs. Drummond, Mr. Adrian Clark, who, with Mr. A. C. McCurdy, M.P., represented the defendants, explained that she was in a nursing home, and was too ill to appear. Dr. William Fenton then deposed that it would be necessary to perform an operation upon her; it would take a fortnight before this could be done, on account of her present state of collapse, and, allowing for the period of convalescence, she might be able to attend in two months' time. The magistrate agreed to extend her bail until July 8.

FURTHER EVIDENCE

The rest of Tuesday's sitting was occupied with evidence that was more or less of a formal character. Witnesses were called who belonged to the firm of Messrs. W. Speaight and Sons, and gave evidence as to the printing of the *Suffragette* from November 15, 1912, till April 25 last. One of these gave an account of the preliminary negotiations with Mrs. Pankhurst, in which he pointed out that "there was a certain amount of danger in this sort of thing," and she gave him her personal undertaking that no offensive matter should appear. She added that his firm would be in an exceptional position, inasmuch as her daughter, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, who was the editor of the *Suffragette*, had received a legal training, and was a specialist in constitutional law.

The Kew Pavilion Again

After other witnesses had been called to give evidence as to the hiring of the Albert Hall, Essex Hall, and the London Pavilion by the W.S.P.U., the proprietors of the Kew Gardens tea pavilion went into the witness-box and described an interview she had with Miss Kerr at Lincoln's Inn House, in the course of which Miss Kerr told her she took "too personal a view of the matter."

Other evidence was given with regard to the printing of the first four numbers of the *Suffragette*, and of the Annual Report of the W.S.P.U. Financial information was supplied by a representative of the London County and Westminster Bank, who said that Mrs. Sanders had an account there. He admitted that he knew the account was connected with the W.S.P.U.

Evidence Objected To

In the course of some evidence being given as to Suffrage badges recording imprisonments, hunger strikes, &c., defendants' counsel objected to this method of proving previous convictions.

Mr. Bodkin said there had been proof of speeches inciting to violence. Now they had evidence of the recognition of lawlessness by the distributing of presents and testimonials.

The magistrate ruled that the testimonial was clearly evidence against the other defendants, and was admissible.

The hearing was adjourned until Wednesday, bail being allowed to all the defendants except Mr. E. G. Clayton.

WEDNESDAY'S PROCEEDINGS

On Wednesday the hearing was resumed, and more evidence was produced by the prosecution. Several witnesses were called to prove facts relating to the letter-box campaign and to injuries received by postal officials.

Mr. John Isaac Jarman, of Ramsgate, printer's publisher, was then called. He stated that he started work at Lincoln's Inn House on the fourth floor back on October 21, worked there for ten days and generally supervised the publishing of the paper until the middle of January. Miss Christabel Pankhurst was editor of the paper during the whole period, and Miss Lennox sub-editor. Miss Barrett filled the post of acting editor.

"Three weeks after Christmas," continued witness, "I saw Mrs. Pankhurst. She then said she was sorry that she had brought me there, and that it would be desirable that a woman should do my work. That woman was Miss Lake."

Witness who added that he left on February 28, put the circulation of the paper for the first four numbers at 17,000 weekly, though 30,000 were printed. Afterwards the circulation gradually dropped off to about 10,000 of which 7,500 represented the sales. The rest were sent to M.P.'s and others. There were facts connected with "all missionary enterprises" which would affect the circulation.

In answer to further questions witness said he attributed the fall in the circulation to the pillar-box outrages.

In cross-examination, Mr. Clark asked: Do you agree that a sub-editor's is not a post of much responsibility? Do you agree that they are responsible for the grammar and punctuation, rather than the matter that is contained in the paper? Witness's reply was inaudible.

In further cross-examination, he said he was there generally to advise and see that "nothing got into the paper that would prevent it from being printed."

Accountant's Evidence

Mr. Reginald Whitehead, chartered accountant, gave evidence as to the auditing of the W.S.P.U. accounts, and produced the salary book detailing the salaries paid to the officials in the dock. In cross-examination he admitted that about 100 received salaries, which brought the average down to about 25s. weekly.

Mr. Bodkin Protests

Mr. McCurdy: As I understand my learned friend, the suggestion is that outside the audited balance-sheets which came before you as auditor there is some secret service fund being collected by the W.S.P.U. which is called the Quarter of a Million Pound Fund.

Mr. Bodkin protested against this "inaccurate recital," and said he objected to his friend putting expressions into his mouth which he had never used.

Mr. McCurdy (to witness): Is there any ground, as far as you know, for suggesting that that fund has any existence separate from the fund that you audited in the published balance-sheets of the Union?—None at all.

"Suffragettes and Anarchists"

A clerk in the Investigation Department of the General Post Office said that since January 27,565 letter-box outrages, involving damage to 8,445 postal packets, had been reported as having occurred within the Metropolitan Police area.

Mr. McCurdy objected to this evidence as to matters which were not within the witness's own knowledge.

Mr. Bodkin said that being so, the outrages should be strictly proved. Such was the importance of this case that there should be no regard paid to the number of witnesses called.

Another witness, replying to Mr. McCurdy, said that the special branch at Scotland Yard dealt with Suffragettes and Anarchists.

The case was adjourned until Thursday.

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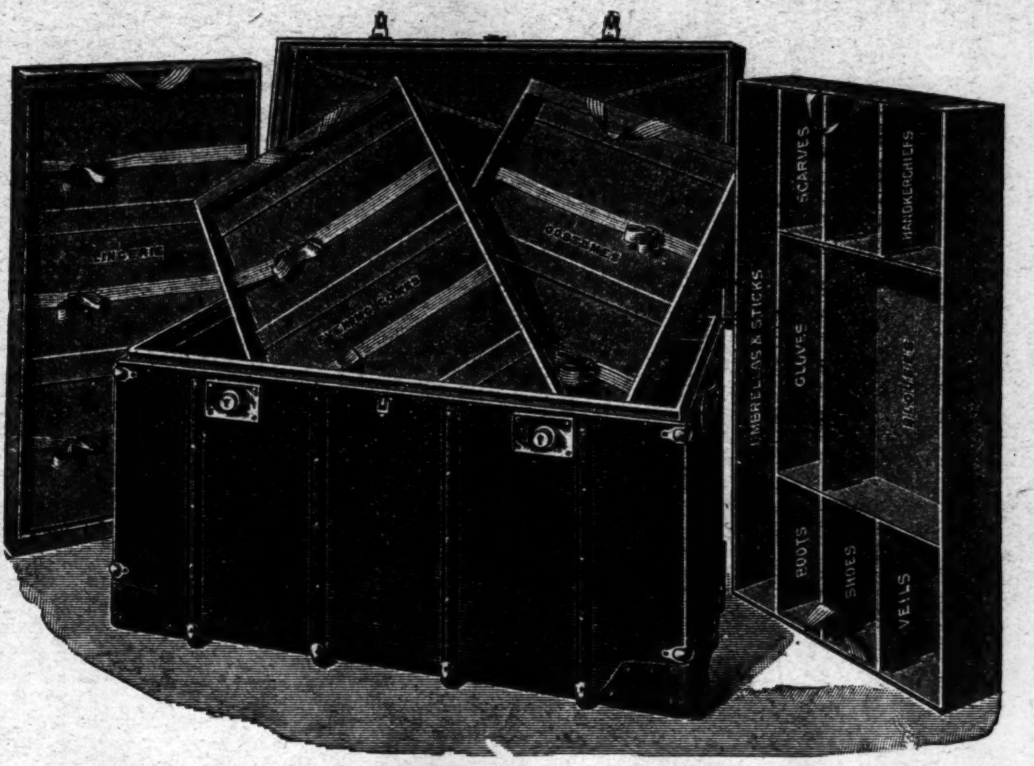

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CORRESPONDENCE

WOMEN AND THE OLD TESTAMENT

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—The reply of "Age" to Mrs. McKenna's comments on the article by Mrs. Annie Levy on the status of women as revealed in the Old Testament is particularly interesting and enlightening. But another side of this question of old Scriptural law suggests itself to me. Why is it necessary to go back to old Jewish laws in order to support or oppose the claims of women to-day? If we insist on fixing woman's status according to far-back Jewish teaching, why not also apply the same teaching to man's conduct and position to-day? We hear a great deal of the so-called punishment of Eve, but men are not so insistent on commands that affect themselves. For instance, the laws regarding social purity, which meted out equal punishment—that of death—to both the man and woman guilty of unchastity, and that ordained death for the man who forcibly violated the purity of a betrothed girl or wife, while insisting on his compensating, as far as was possible, a young unbetrothed girl, so violated, by marriage, are now considered only suitable for a primitive age. They had become dead-letters even in the time of Christ, as is proved by the case of the woman taken in adultery, for her partner in sin was not even mentioned by her accusers, much less thought worthy of punishment. And to-day, too, it is only the woman whom society punishes, while the law regards a few weeks' imprisonment as a severe punishment for the man who violates an innocent girl or child.

If, therefore, we are to go back to the dawn of sacred or profane history for our laws regarding women, let us be consistent, and apply those concerning men to our present day social legislation and attitude. As was pointed out in VOTES FOR WOMEN some time ago, the Bible was written by men under more or less Divine inspiration. No one to-day believes in its verbal inspiration; and if, as we see, each book in the Bible is dominated by the character and personality of the writer of it—is it not still more likely that the far stronger influence of sex arrogance and jealousy would find expression in the Bible as a whole?

In the New Testament St. Paul's and St. Peter's attitude towards woman is influenced by Jewish tradition and prejudices, but their Master put her on an equal footing with man whenever He referred to her. Husband and wife were to be "one flesh"—therefore equal; and only the man whose own conduct was pure was entitled to throw the first stone at the woman who had sinned. In fact, conduct, not sex, was the standard by which Christ judged men and women.

That both Paul and Peter recognised that circumstances altered cases is proved by their continuing to preach the Gospel in season and out of season, though forbidden to do so, and in spite of their own exhortations to "Subject yourselves to the higher powers . . . for there is no power but of God," and "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man," &c.

Ought we then to walk by the dim light of early dawn or by the brighter light of a more advanced day?—Yours, &c.,

(Mrs.) E. C. MARKHAM.

Southsea.

THE DIVORCE LAW REFORM UNION

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Will you allow me to say that no letter written by any supporter of this movement and published in any paper is to be considered as officially representing the views of the Union unless signed either by the President, Chairman, or Secretary as such? I feel impelled to write this because not long ago I saw in one of the papers a letter which frequently brought in the name of this Union, and which was not couched in terms very sympathetic with the women's suffrage movement. This Union is very broad and comprehensive, and very strong sympathy with the suffrage movement is manifested by a large number of our membership, though officially we stand for no party or political movement of any kind or description, but necessarily stand completely alone, welcoming supporters from all points of the political compass.—Yours, &c.,

A. HAMILTON
(Organising Secretary).

Divorce Law Reform Union, 39, St. James' Street, (162) Piccadilly, W.

FREE SPEECH IN HYDE PARK

Dear Editors,—Last Sunday afternoon, when my husband and I were returning homewards through Hyde Park, just by Grosvenor Gate, we saw an elderly woman and a young girl in the hands of two policemen. The elder woman was being propelled by means of a series of very violent shoves in the back. The girl's left arm was held by a young policeman, who, red in the face and grinning, appeared to be twisting it. She was obviously suffering great pain, and was expostulating with him.—Yours, &c.,

MARY SOMMERFELT.

155, Elm Park Mansions, Chelsea, S.W.

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY AND HABEAS CORPUS

A correspondent, writing on the recent summons served upon Mr. Lansbury and others under the statute 34 Edward III., raises some very interesting points concerning the Habeas Corpus Act. "I looked up the article on the Act in 'Chambers' Encyclopædia,'" she writes. "The wording of the article is interesting in itself. 'These abuses (i.e., those in the reign of Charles I.) led to the enactment of the Statute . . . commonly known as the Habeas Corpus Act. This Act did not, as is often supposed, introduce any new form of process; but it secured to the subject the ancient constitutional remedy of which *the weakness of the judges and the bad faith of the Government had deprived him.*'

"Further on it says, 'The Habeas Corpus Act extends only to the cases of persons imprisoned on criminal charges; but in 1816 its provisions were extended to other cases by the 56 Geo. III., chap. 100. The result of these enactments is that in all cases where any person, whether man, woman, or child, is deprived of liberty, some friend may apply for a habeas corpus directed to the officer or private person having custody of the prisoner.'"

"In Times of Rebellion"

"Finally, I noted the sentence: 'In times of rebellion or disturbance the Government may find it necessary to arrest dangerous persons, and to detain them in custody without bringing them to trial. In such cases the Government may either break the law, *and apply to Parliament for an Act of Indemnity, or it may invite Parliament to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act for a time.*'"

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" AT OXFORD

Miss Margaret B. Crook writes from Oxford:—

Perhaps it will surprise you to hear that VOTES FOR WOMEN is no longer permitted to appear in the Common Room of the non-collegiate women who comprise the "Society of the Oxford Home Students." Your paper is also, I believe, prohibited in the common rooms of the women's colleges here. At "Cherwell Edge" it is not only barred out of the Common Room, but is not even permitted within the precincts.

It has not escaped the observation of students who are amongst your regular readers that the very authorities, who regard your reasoned exposition of the need for militancy as dangerous and revolutionary, raised no protest when Sir Edward Carson, at the Union Debating Society, expounded the ethics of Ulsteria to very new and tender undergraduates. We have been informed that the cases are entirely different, that the women must not be hurried into taking sides on such questions!

A SUFFRAGETTE IN THE PULPIT

Miss Elsie Mackenzie, a former organiser of the Women's Social and Political Union, sends us an interesting account of the New York Suffrage campaign in which she is now taking part, and in the course of it describes how she was invited by the Rev. T. Crawford (Methodist Episcopal Church of America) to address his congregation at Bernardsville, N.J., from the pulpit, on "The Church Militant."

"It was clear," writes Miss Mackenzie, "that he wanted them to hear a militant talk"; and she goes on to say: "The interesting part is that as soon as his 'Board' knew that it was a militant that was to occupy the pulpit, they refused to have me. However, the minister said he would take all responsibility, and insisted that I should come. The musical service was cut short, the Scriptures read accordingly, and I chose the hymns. In closing we sang 'Onward Christian Soldiers.' The church was packed. The Congregational minister brought in his flock. The Rev. T. Crawford said he had never had such a large congregation. I had just one hour to convert those men who composed the 'Board.' When I got into the pulpit I chose a text from the Bible. From the money-changers in the Temple up to the present war in the Balkans I brought the people. Such an interested audience they seemed. I told them it was time now to get away from broken windows and see the great underlying principle. I spoke for just one hour and ten minutes. When the service was over the Board came up in a body and thanked me for giving them a better understanding. Everybody seemed so sympathetic and with us. It seems they only want the thing explained to them, and at once they are our friends. Good wishes for the 'Cause' in England.'"

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QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

May 7, 1913

Mr. Thomas asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether prison doctors are allowed extra remuneration for all operations performed in His Majesty's prisons; if so, what such remuneration amounts to; and if forcible feeding is included in the term operation?

Mr. McKenna: The answer to the first question is in the negative. The other questions do not arise.

May 8, 1913

Mr. Keir Hardie asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that dissatisfaction exists among the staff of Holloway prison consequent on the manner in which the sum of £300, granted by the Home Office for extra work entailed upon the staff by the forcible feeding of women suffrage prisoners and other causes during the last two years, has been distributed; whether certain officers who had never assisted in the forcible feeding of suffragist prisoners received £5 each, officers who had assisted two, three, and four times received £2, £3, £4 respectively, while another who was present many times was allowed nothing; whether officers who were excused from assisting at the forcible feeding process, and whose special duty was to sit in the exercise yard for five hours, daily, received awards, while others who did much extra work and had great strain imposed upon them obtained no recompense; whether a clerk appointed to the prison after the rush of work was rewarded, whereas officers who in certain cases were on duty twenty-nine hours continuously were not; whether resignations have take place in consequence of the discontent caused by this treatment, and, if so, whether he will say how many have been sent in since the distribution of the grant; and whether he will cause inquiry to be made into the matter with a view to removing any just cause of discontent which may be found to exist?

Mr. McKenna: I think the hon. Member has been misled in this matter. I have no reason to think there is any disatisfaction, and certainly the inequalities in distribution suggested in the hon. Member's question do not exist. There has been no resignation.

DRESDEN WOMEN PROTEST AGAINST FORCIBLE FEEDING

A number of women residents of Dresden have signed the following letter to the Home Secretary:—

"We, the undersigned, have read with horror of the torture to which you are subjecting a young Englishman, Mr. Hugh Franklin, in Wormwood Scrubbs Prison, and we desire to enter a strong protest against the barbarous and disgusting practice of forcible feeding. Until now, England has led the way in all things relating to progress and civilisation. But the fact that, in this, the twentieth century, she continues to pursue a method of punishment fit only for the dark ages, is causing her fast to lose the respect of the rest of the civilised world."

ORDINARY PRISONERS AND THE HUNGER STRIKE

Those scaremongers who are always protesting that the example of the Suffragist hunger-strikers will be followed by ordinary prisoners, should carefully consider the following quotation from the editorial columns of the *Chicago Tribune* for April 23:—

"It is reported from Denver that the sixty industrial workers of the world whom the authorities locked up for the city's peace of mind carried their hunger-strike to the extent of refusing six meals of bread and water and then eagerly fell upon the seventh. They emphasised the heroism of the admittedly perplexing and disagreeable London suffragets. There may be stout and stern stuff in the I. W. W., but that philosophy permits consideration for the creature comfort even when the offering is so little satisfactory as half loaves of bread and cups of water. The Pankhursts are accused of displaying the fortitude of hysteria which would break under recurrent strain, but the accusation has a difficult task to find facts to stand upon. It required only forty-eight hours to bring the I. W. W. zealots, who are enthusiastic but canny, to a reasoning mood regarding food, but the suffragets persist to the despair of jailers, the distress of physicians, and exceeding discomfort of the Home Secretary. They have faced death from starvation and have not flinched."

ANOTHER MOUSE?

A correspondent writes to the *Daily Herald* in reference to the release of Edward Buckton Cargill by the Home Office on account of ill-health, and goes on to say: "Can you let me know when he returns to Wakefield Prison, as I suppose he comes under the 'Cat and Mouse Bill'? It would hardly be possible that a man who is sentenced under the Criminal Law Amendment Act gets off scot free on account of illness, whereas a woman of acknowledged purity of motive like Mrs. Pankhurst is only let out on licence, though also seriously ill!"

The *Daily Herald* comment is:—

"We cannot answer our correspondent's question. The ironies of the class law and the Home Office are beyond us."

AN EPIDEMIC OF BOMBS

"To-day's Bomb"—the poster of an evening paper on Bank Holiday—was expressive of the general feeling during the holiday week-end, when numerous bombs, most of which appear to have been dummies, were discovered by well-meaning persons about the country. A characteristic specimen was the parcel at the Reading postal sorting office from which a loud ticking was heard to proceed. The parcel, after being plunged into the regulation bucket of water and taken to the police station, was found to contain an electric battery and other appliances for face massage. Similarly, a tin box containing stones and mud was plunged into water at Colchester Railway Station. These and other hoaxes of the same kind were a very present help to the Press during the holiday time.

A bomb found in the Empire Theatre, Dublin, on Saturday evening appears to have been genuine, and an arrest was made, but nothing has so far transpired to connect this with the work of militant Suffragists.

◆

IN THE PRESS

WHAT ABOUT THE 45 YEARS?

If the courage and resource and organising skill of the militants were only directed into legitimate channels it would be tenfold more powerful in effecting the end they desire.—**Christian World.**

THE HATEFUL PRACTICE

It is deeply to be deplored that the Home Secretary has not the wisdom and courage to abandon, at once, and finally, the hateful practice of forcible feeding. . . . Whatever the consequences may be, and however great the dislocation of "law and order" that may result, nothing can justify the persistence in a practice which is in its very nature unjustifiable.—**Humanitarian.**

THE "GLOBE" SHUDDERS

The "Cat and Mouse" Act is the feeble resource of a feeble Minister, but at least let it be rigorously enforced, and then perhaps the populace will be willing to wait and see if it proves effective. As things are, we are drifting fast to a state of things of which we shudder to think.—**Globe.**

SANS PEUR ET SANS REPROCHE

The most notable political incident in the whole Suffragist campaign has been provided by Mr. Asquith. His attitude from beginning to end has been little less than magnificent for its cool and unflinching courage. The storm has raged round him with every form of violence. But he has faced it without flinching.—**Manchester Evening News.**

THE GUARDED LEGISLATOR

That Parliament should be able to sit at all is possible now only because of the extraordinary precautions of the police. None of us who frequent the Palace of Westminster would experience the least surprise if he found himself hurtled through the roof.—**Birmingham Post.**

NO ACCOUNTING FOR TASTES!

We prefer to interpret the decisive rejection of Mr. Dickinson's Bill as an assertion of the authority of Parliament; a response to the strong public feeling that prevails; and an approval of the measures which the Government are taking to put an end to the criminal activities of the militants.—**Liverpool Daily Post.**

ANSWER CAME THERE NONE

Why should the many be punished for the misdeeds of the few? That question was asked last night by able men who earnestly and eloquently advocated the women's cause; and no answer was given. It is for the police and the Ministers directing the police to deal with militancy; the call to statesmen is to show the real statesmanship and do the thing that is right by and for the law-abiding citizens. —**Northern Daily Telegraph.**

NEW ZEALAND'S SUPPORT

At the Dominion Convention of the New Zealand Women's Temperance Union, held at Nelson, in March, 1913, the following resolution was passed unanimously:—

"That this Convention of enfranchised women of New Zealand, realising the great benefits which have resulted to this Dominion and the number of humanitarian legislative enactments which have been passed since the suffrage was conferred upon the women of the Dominion, wishes emphatically to protest against the injustice of the British Government in refusing to grant equal political rights to the women. The Convention wishes to point out that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth the women of England did enjoy political rights, and there exists no valid reason why the British Government should have reverted to barbarism, and should now refuse to restore these rights."

The Daintiest of Summer Blouses

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REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents are attributed in the Press to Suffragists:—

Thursday, May 8.—Plaster bust of Mr. John Redmond, in Royal Hibernian Academy, Dublin, damaged with green paint; broad arrows painted on coat; card attached, with words, "Why didn't you get Votes for Women, Mr. Redmond? A traitor's face is no ornament to our picture gallery." One arrest.

Telegraph wires cut at Dalton.

Friday, May 9. — Empty mansion at Sowerby Wood, Barrow, formerly the residence of the late Mr. H. W. Schneider, at one time M.P. for Lancaster, destroyed by fire. Suffragist literature found. No arrests. House valued at £14,000.

Discolouring liquid poured into every pillar-box at Romford and in neighbouring districts of Seven Kings, Shadwell Heath, and Goodmayes; hundreds of letters damaged. Pillar-boxes also attacked at Cricklewood.

Interior of taxi-cab plying for hire in West London badly damaged; two copies of Votes for Women found in cab.

Attempted firing of Cambridge University football pavilion.

Saturday, May 10.—Farington Hall, Dundee, practically destroyed by fire; house, which was empty, being re-decorated for incoming tenant; damage estimated at £20,000.

Monument to Earl Derby, grandfather of the present Earl, overlooking Miller Park, Preston, sprayed with tar.

Window broken at Mr. John Redmond's Dublin house.

Fire at large empty house at Beckenham; no clue, Suffragists suspected; damage estimated at £400 to £500.

Supposed attempt to fire house in Westgate Road, Newcastle.

Letter-boxes attacked at Oxford.

Sunday, May 11.—Fanlight broken at the offices of the United Irish League, Dublin. Window broken at the Dublin house of Mr. John Dillon, M.P.; three arrests.

Monday, May 12.—Boathouse of the Nottingham Boat Club destroyed by fire, together with the Club's racing and pleasure boats; damage estimated at £2,000. Supposed attempt to fire pavilion of Badminton and Tennis Clubs, Oxted, Surrey.

Tuesday, May 13.—Twelve plate-glass windows in draper's shop at Norwich deeply scratched; damage estimated at £1,000.

An unoccupied house, The Highlands, Folkestone, burnt, damage estimated at £500.

◆

THE CAT AND MOUSE ACT

It is stated that Mr. Hugh Franklin, who was released on a fifteen days' licence under the Cat and Mouse Act, has failed to return to Wormwood Scrubbs Prison, where he was "due" last Monday. The police are said to be searching for him.

SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Miss Louisa Gay	Jan. 9	8 months
Mrs. Maud Brindley	Feb. 7	5 „
Miss Jane Short	Feb. 22	6 „
Miss Margaret Macfarlane	Mar. 20	5 „
Miss Olive Hocken	April 4	4 „
Mrs. Lilian Forrester	April 23	9 „
Miss Evelyn Manesta	„ „	5 „
Mr. E. G. Clayton	May 1	Remanded
Miss Eliza Stone	„ „	1 month
Miss Marie Neil	May 5	21 days
Miss May Simpson	„ „	1 month
Miss Nina Boyle	May 6	14 days
Miss Anna Munro	„ „	„

IN THE COURTS

Thursday, May 8.—At the Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Curtis Bennett, charged with conspiring to damage property contrary to the Malicious Damage to Property Act, 1861, Mrs. Drummond, Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Kerr, Mrs. Sanders, Miss Barrett, Miss Lake, Miss Lennox, and Mr. E. G. Clayton. Case adjourned: all remanded on bail, except Mr. Clayton, to whom bail was refused.

At Dublin, charged with damaging a plaster bust of Mr. John Redmond, Miss Geraldine Manning; fined 20s. and 5s. compensation, payment refused, a week given in which to pay.

In the King's Bench Division, before Mr. Justice Phillimore, charged with contempt of court, for refusing to allow the service of a writ on his daughter, Miss Olive Wharry; Dr. Wharry, fined £50 and costs.

Saturday, May 10.—At Manchester, before Mr. Edgar Brierley, charged with conspiracy as the publisher of the *Suffragette*, Mr. Edgar Whiteley; remanded on bail till May 20.

Monday, May 12.—At Leeds, charged with inciting to crime, Miss Leonora Cohen; remanded on bail.

At the Northern Police Court, Dublin, before Mr. Macinerney, charged with having broken a fanlight at the office of the United Irish League and a window at the house of Mr. John Dillon, M.P., Mrs. Margaret Palmer, Miss Dora Ryan, and Miss Annie Welsh; remanded on bail till to-day (Friday).

Tuesday, May 13.—At the Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Curtis Bennett, charged with conspiracy, the W.S.P.U. defendants, with the exception of Mrs. Drummond, who was unable to appear through illness; bail accepted until well enough to be present in court. The others remanded on bail, with the exception of Mr. Clayton.

Wednesday, May 14.—At the Bow Street Police Court, the W.S.P.U. defendants; remanded till the following day.

◆

THE LEAGUE OF JUSTICE

The inaugural meeting of the new League of Justice was held on May 7, and the majority of the audience were afterwards enrolled as members and signed the Member's Pledge, which runs as follows:—

"I pledge myself to withdraw all monetary or personal aid from organised work of public utility or charity until women are enfranchised on the same terms as men.

"I pledge myself to deal exclusively, as far as possible, with those members of trades and professions who support women's enfranchisement, and to support women in trades and professions wherever practicable."

New members continue to be enrolled, and the League intends shortly to hold another meeting to further its special ends.

◆

ANOTHER WOMAN'S MARCH

Following the precedent of the Woman's March of last autumn, when a body of women, led by Miss de Fonblanque, marched from Edinburgh to London, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies is now planning a Women's Suffrage Pilgrimage on a large scale, to take place this summer. The Pilgrims will march along the great trunk roads converging on London, the main routes being the Great North Road, Watling Street, the Bath Road, and the Portsmouth Road. Each of the seventeen federations of the Union will organise a pilgrimage, joining others on the way, and the various processions will hold meetings on the way, distribute literature and information, and collect subscriptions. The ultimate goal of the Pilgrimage will be a demonstration in Hyde Park on Saturday, July 26.

◆

MANNED BY WOMEN

The Hiram, a schooner a hundred years old, has recently sailed from the Boston Harbour, manned by women, the only man on board being the captain's husband, who has signed on as his wife's first mate. The captain, Mrs. Georgia Orne, has commanded the Hiram for some years, and as she recently had trouble with her sailors, she has now engaged a crew of women. The vessel sailed for the coast of Maine to pick up timber for New York. She will bring back from that port a cargo of coal. As she left harbour, with Mrs. Orne at the wheel, everything going splendidly, every steamer gave the schooner a salute, and old sailors declared she could not have been better handled by men. What becomes of the physical force argument?

◆

THE YOUNGER GENERATION

It was in the Boys' British School at Saffron Walden. The headmaster was taking a class of boys (ages ten to twelve) in history, and asked the question: "What particular enemies did Henry VII. have to guard against?"

Out of the number of hands that went up he selected one belonging to a sharp-looking little fellow in the front row.

"Well, sonny?"

"Please sir"—the words came tumbling out breathlessly—"the Suffragettes, sir."

COMING EVENTS

The Jewish League for Woman Suffrage will hold a public meeting at the Adler Hall, Stepney Green, E., on Sunday, May 18, at 8.30 p.m. Chair: the Rev. Morris Joseph; speakers will include Miss Hannah Hyam, Miss Winifred Elkin, and the Rev. Dr. J. Hochman.

The New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage announce a meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday, May 18, at 12 noon, and an office At Home on Tuesday, May 20, at 3 p.m., when Mrs. Pertwee will speak on "Parents' Duties to their Daughters."

The Pioneer Players, under the direction of Miss Edith Craig, will give their fifth and last performance this season at the Little Theatre on Sunday, May 18, at 8.15 p.m. Three new one-act plays will be produced—"The Last Visit," "Mese Mariano," and "The Great Day," by German, Italian, and English dramatists respectively.

The Women's Freedom League announce a welcome to released prisoners at the Portman Rooms, Baker Street, W., on May 19, at 8 p.m. Tickets, 1s. and 6d., obtainable at the W.F.L. offices. On May 21 the League will hold a public meeting at the Portman Rooms at 3.30 p.m. Speakers, Mr. G. E. O'Dell and Miss Nina Boyle.

There will be a lecture on "Women under the Poor Law," by Mrs. H. N. Nevinson, at the offices of the Actresses' Franchise League on Friday, May 23, at 5 p.m. Tickets, price 6d., obtainable at the A. F. L. offices.

The Bow and Bromley W.S.P.U., in conjunction with other Suffrage societies and Labour organisations, are organising a great East London demonstration to demand votes for women. This demonstration is fixed for Sunday, May 25, and will include a procession, which will assemble at the East India Dock Gates at 3.30 p.m., and march to the Victoria Park, where a great meeting will be held.

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SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.
Australian and New Zealand Voters' Association,
9, Grafton Street, W.
Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.
Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.
Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association,
48, Dover Street, W.
Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.
Forward Cymric Suffrage Union,
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.
Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.
Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.
Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.
International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.
Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 19, Buckingham Street, W.C.
Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.
Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association,
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.
Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.
London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.
Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
60, West Street, Horsham.
Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,
28, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.
Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.
National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
National Political League,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.
National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.
People's Suffrage Federation
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.
Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.
Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.
Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.
Suffrage Atelier
6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.
Suffrage Club.
52, New Bond Street, W.
Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.
Suffragists' Vigilance League,
49, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.
Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.
Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.
Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.
Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

MRS. CHAPMAN CATT AND THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC

"The things we learned about the white slave traffic in the East during our tour of Asia, all round the coast of India, up and down the Pacific coast, along the west and east of Africa, and in the interior of Asia, are far too dreadful to be told from any public platform," said Mrs. Chapman Catt in her recent address on Heathen East and Christian West. "We promised Englishwomen before we set out that we would make full enquiry into the matter, and with much difficulty we obtained valuable evidence—not, however, from the officials, for they either withheld information or lied to us. The great tide of emigration that for twenty-five years has flowed into Asia, the armies of military, civil, and commercial men, have carried with them an army of captives, girls snatched from every country in Europe. We found that this army was enormously increased in Asia by girls of colour, yellow, brown, and black; girls of every race, the immemorial martyrs of the East, exploited by men of every religion—Christian, Buddhist, Confucian. The East supplies endless victims; the West supplies organisation and business knowledge. The East sells, the Christian West buys. Long ago England abolished suttee, but to-day hundreds of thousands of women are being offered up to the bestiality of civilised races.

What Economic Independence Means

"In Zanzibar the traffic in men slaves has been abolished, but the slavers continue a flourishing trade in black women, shipping them off to Ceylon to satisfy the demands of those very men whose fathers set Zanzibar slaves free. In all the East we found only two countries—Burma and Sumatra—whose women are not carried off to serve in the ports and the interior, and in those countries women have economic independence. It was impossible to doubt the misery and despair of the slave women we saw in Asia. Their servitude is of the vilest description; they are kept in such conditions that often they do not even know the name of the port in which they are sacrificed. The stories we heard were so revolting that we could hardly sleep.

"This traffic threatens the existence of Western nations. The East revenges itself by spreading and returning to the West the deadliest disease. The problem cannot be settled by education. The double standard for men and women has been too long tolerated for that. Nothing will put an end to the evil until women have a voice in the government of all Western nations. I am often told," continued Mrs. Catt "that Britain's colonial policy would suffer if women were allowed to deal with Imperial matters. If there were no other reason for giving women the vote, this alone cries out above all other evils for redress, and declares that it cannot wait for governments and politicians."

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"WOMEN MUST BE TAUGHT"

At the annual conference of the Municipal Employers' Association, held at Cardiff last Monday, the President, Mr. James Macdonald (Glasgow), in sketching out an ideal future for the workers of the country, said: "Men must be given free opportunities to labour and produce the commodities of life . . . and women must be taken from the factory and workshop and taught that their duty in life is to make the world beautiful and pleasant to live in, and to rear a strong, healthy and free race."

Now why should men only be given "free opportunities," and why, oh! why, must women always be put back into the home and "taught"? If people really require to be taught that "their duty in life is to make the world beautiful and pleasant to live in," surely it is a lesson that should be learnt by men as well as women, unless the intention is that the world is to be made beautiful and pleasant for men only. We cannot really credit Mr. James Macdonald, of Glasgow, with so mean an aspiration as that; but we should like to ask him how he expects women to rear a "free" race unless they are free themselves, or what time they will have to rear anything if they have got (single-handed) to make the present world into a beautiful and pleasant place for anybody to live in? Life in the workshop, however badly paid, is play compared to the life in the home that is planned for women by the Mr. Macdonalds of annual conferences!

WE state on her authority, that Mrs. Hugo Ames has resigned as a co-Director on "The Awakener" and has no further connection with the paper officially or otherwise. Her serial, discontinued, on White Slave Traffic entitled "Red Light," appears shortly in volume form.

[ADVT.

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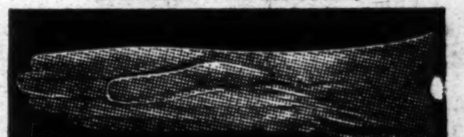

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SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

MADAME ALICE GODFREY'S Dramatic Recital at Steinway Hall, Friday, May 30, at 8.15. Tickets, 2s., 3s., 5s. Steinway Hall, and of Madame Godfrey, 2, Crossfield Road, Hampstead.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

JOIN THE "LEAGUE OF JUSTICE." Programme of uncompromising militancy without violence or law-breaking, to win the Vote and break up unjust monopolies. Particulars.—Hon. Organiser, 2, Lyndale, Hampstead, N.W.

LONDON SOCIETY of the NATIONAL Union of Women's Suffrage Societies' Public Reception, May 16, Westminster Palace Hotel, 3.30—6.15. Hon. Mrs. Spencer Graves, Miss Courtney (Hon. Sec. N.U.W.S.S.), Miss Royden, Mrs. Swanwick.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE will hold its Wednesday afternoon public Meeting at PORTMAN ROOMS, Baker Street, W. (entrance in Dorset Street), on May 21, at 3.30, when Mr. G. E. O'Dell will speak on the character of Ann Whitefield in "Man and Superman," and Miss Boyle will make a political speech. Admission free.

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BOARD RESIDENCE or Apartments.—Easy to City or West; vegetarian or otherwise; good home; terms moderate.—Mrs. Lovewell, 11, Dalmeny Avenue, Camden Road, N.

BRIGHTON.—A visit to "Sea-View," Victoria Road, the best tonic. Hostess, Miss Turner, W.S.P.U. Terms moderate. Outdoor sleeping accommodation if required. Nat. Tel., 1702.

BRIGHTON. — TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. Terms from 25s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

FOLKESTONE.—"Trevarra," Bouverie Road West. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required. — Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

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PAYING GUEST received in small cosy flat. Few minutes Bakerloo Tube, Baker St. Two to 3 guineas inclusive, or would let flat. Apply "Widow," Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

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WIDDINGTON, ESSEX.—Pretty thatched cottage to let furnished; 3 bed, 2 sitting-rooms, kitchen, outhouses; not isolated, 2 miles from station.—Miss Ridley, Helenscote, Ipswich.

WANTED.

SEASIDE. — Cottage or Bungalow wanted, close to sea; South coast; middle or end of June.—Box 366, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

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TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private class or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness. . . . while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

WOMAN and the MOTOR-CAR.—Motor Schools Training Institute, Heddon Street, Regent Street, W. Ladies can join all our classes of instruction. Prospectus free on application. 150 test questions and answers on motoring. Questions free. Answers, 1s. 1d., by post. 20,000 sold.—Motor Schools Training Institute, Heddon Street, Regent Street, W.

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TO THE LEADERS OF THE VOTES FOR WOMEN MOVEMENT.—A young Irishman, journalist, wishing to support the Votes for Women Cause, would be glad to hear of a Vacancy. Could organise, write, or help in any way. Not afraid; best references.—Energy, c/o Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

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